MEMOIRS

Of the Most

Material Tranſactions

IN

ENGLAND,

FOR

The Laſt Hundred YEARS,

Preceding the Revolution in 1688.

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LONDON:

Printed for *Tim. Goodwin*, at the *Queen's-Head* againſt St. *Dunſtan's*-Church in *Fleetſtreet.* 1700.

UMI

TO THE

KING.

SIR,

THE Great Patrons of Liberty have not thought it below them to become the Patrons of Hiſtory: And any thing of that kind which concerns *England*, does naturally

claim the Protection of a Prince, who by his Valour and Conduct has not only Reſtor'd to the *Engliſh* Nation that Figure they had loſt in the World for near an Hundred Years paſt, but has rais'd them to a Greater than ever they had before: A Prince, who in all He has done for the Common Safety of *Europe*, could have no Brighter Examples to follow, than thoſe of his own Family: For when Others have fought for Dominion and Power, vain empty Notions, and deſtructive to Mankind; It has ever been a Glory peculiar to the Houſe of *Naſſau* to have fought for *LIBERTY*, the Nobleſt Cauſe, and the Greateſt Stake that Mortals can contend for.

Let ſome Princes pretend to Fading Lawrels, by depopulating Countries, oppreſſing their Neighbours,

bours, and enſlaving Free People; The ſureſt and beſt way to tranſmit a Glorious Name to Poſterity, is to relieve the Oppreſs'd, break off their Fetters, and ſet the World free.

Theſe require no varniſh to ſet off their true Luſtre; whilſt thoſe are oblig'd to make uſe of falſe Colours to palliate the higheſt Injuſtice. Let them value themſelves upon a Greatneſs that's borrow'd from Schemes that could hardly fail, as being tranſmitted to them from the long Experience of the Ableſt Miniſters, and moſt Refin'd Stateſmen of the Age: That Prince, who without theſe Helps at his firſt Appearance on the Stage, has by the mere Strength of his own Genius ſurmounted Difficulties that would have pall'd any Courage but his own; and at length has broke all thoſe Meaſures that had of a long

time been concerting towards the enſlaving of *Chriſtendom*; cannot fail to make one of the Nobleſt and Brighteſt Figures in Hiſtory.

If it be the Prerogative of an Almighty Power and Goodneſs to ſet Bounds to the Raging Sea, it muſt be the higheſt and moſt juſtifiable Imitation of It, to put a Stop to the Ambition of Men, and to ſhelter Nations from their Fury. It is in this ſenſe chiefly, that Kings may be called Gods: And it were a pity that the Lives of ſuch were not as Immortal as their Deeds.

The Memory of that Prince muſt be laſting, who in all the Wars he has been engag'd in, and in all the Treaties that have been made to reſtore Peace to his Countrey, has never made any Terms for Himſelf; except once, when the Intereſt

of

of Three Kingdoms, and his Own, were become one and the ſame.

When ſucceeding Ages ſhall ſee ſcarce any other Coin in *England* but of one Stamp, they muſt look back with Amazement upon the Reign of a Prince whoſe Image it bears; and wonder how it was poſſible, That during the Heat of the moſt Expenſive War that ever was, ſo vaſt a Treaſure could be new minted, and at ſo prodigious a Loſs: While at the ſame time they will commend and bleſs a People, that with ſo much Cheerfulneſs aſſiſted Him with Supplies ſuitable to ſuch Mighty Undertakings. They will be no leſs ſurpriz'd to find, That amidſt a great many Hardſhips and Diſappointments which could not be avoided, his Armies follow'd Him with an Inviolable Fidelity and Inimitable Courage: And will hardly

hardly believe, That it was within the Compaſs of Human Prudence to Cement ſo many Jarring Intereſts, and unite ſo many Princes of different Religions into one Alliance, and to influence their firm Adherence to that Alliance, till the Glorious Concluſion of a General Peace.

SIR,

All theſe Great Things were reſerv'd for Your MAJESTY, which will be Admir'd and Extoll'd by Poſterity, no leſs than they are by the preſent Age: And it's but reaſonable that the Memory of ſuch Actions ſhould live for ever. The following Sheets, containing a Short View of the various Diſpoſition of Affairs in *England* for a whole Century before Your MAJESTY's Happy Acceſſion to the Crown, I humbly

humbly beg Leave to Lay them at Your MAJESTY's Feet, with the moſt profound Submiſſion and Duty, that becomes,

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

Your Majeſty's moſt Humble,

moſt Faithful, and moſt

Obedient Subject and Servant,

James Welwood.

TO

To the Reader.

THESE Sheets were writ ſome Years ago, by the Encouragement of One whoſe Memory will be ever Sacred to Poſterity. It's needleſs to mention the Occaſion: And they had not been publiſh'd now, if a Surreptitious Copy of a Part of the Manuſcript, had not crept abroad. I can hardly expect they ſhould pleaſe in an Age like this, that is fond only of what is writ for or againſt a Party: For I have trac'd Truth as near as I could, without eſpouſing any one Intereſt or Faction. I hope I may venture to ſay, That I have tread as ſoftly as was poſſible over the Graves of the Dead, and have not aggravated the Errors of the Living. As to the latter,

latter, it's enough that we are deliver'd from their Power, without inſulting over their Misfortunes; and it is unworthy of a Generous Mind, to trample upon thoſe that are already down.

Moſt of the Accounts I have ſeen of the Tranſactions of thoſe Times, are partial to ſome one Side; which being one of the greateſt Blemiſhes of Hiſtory, I have endeavour'd to avoid: But whether I have fallen into the ſame Error my ſelf, it is the Reader muſt be now Judge. I leave Satyr and Panegyrick to others. I envy no man the Art of making Court to the Great by Flattery, and have not Ill Nature enough for Detraction.

The Deſign of theſe Memoirs being only to give a Short Idea of the Thread of Affairs in England, *for the Space of a Hundred Years, it is not to be expected that I ſhould have obſerv'd the Rules of a Regular Hiſtory, much leſs any Niceneſs of Method, or Exactneſs*

neſs in the Narration. As to the Stile, I have taken very little pains about it; and all I have aim'd at, is to be underſtood.

In the Account I have given of the Laſt Reign, I would not be thought to Reflect upon the Roman-Catholicks *in general, for what a Party among them is chargeable. They were chiefly the Bigots of ſome Religious* Orders, *and the New Converts, that adviſ'd and carried on thoſe Violences that in the end overturn'd their Maſter's Throne: And it is hop'd the* Roman-Catholicks *have reaſon to be ſatisfied with their Condition under the preſent Reign, ſince they enjoy an unenvied Liberty of their Religion, without incurring the Hatred of their Fellow-Subjects for being in a Deſign to overturn the Eſtabliſh'd Church; which was their Caſe under the late King* James. *And as I am far from wiſhing them leſs Liberty than they have, yet cannot but regret the Hard*

To the Reader.

Hard Uſage which the Proteſtants meet with in other Countries, and wiſh they were but as well treated there, as the Roman-Catholicks *are here.*

Before I have done, I beg leave to take notice of a Pamphlet that came out laſt Summer, call'd Curſory Remarks upon the Proceedings of the Laſt Seſſion of Parliament. *The Gentleman that wrote it, had not only the Honeſty to publiſh an Anſwer to his own Book, but in that Anſwer to inſinuate that I was the Author of it. All the Uſe I ſhall make of this unuſual Liberty of the Preſs, is to declare, That I have not publiſh'd any one Paper, Pamphlet, or Book, theſe Six Years: And though I have but little Leiſure, and yet leſs Inclination to appear again in Print, yet if ever I alter my Reſolution, and publiſh any thing hereafter, I will certainly put my Name to it; as I have done to theſe* Memoirs.

THE

THE

CONTENTS.

THE Excellencies of the Engliſh *Conſtitution, and the various Changes that have happen'd in it,* Page 1
The State of England *under Queen* Elizabeth, 3
Her Character, 5
The Character of her Miniſters; particularly of Walſingham, Cecil, *&c. and of the Members of the Houſe of Commons in her time,* 8
Her Conduct towards Mary *Queen of* Scots, 15
King James *the Firſt's Acceſſion to the Crown, and the Condition of* England *under his Reign,* 19
His Character, 20

The Character and Death of Prince Henry, 23
The Character of the Queen of Bohemia; *and King* James's *Conduct in the Buſineſs of the* Palatinate, 27
The Fate of Sir Walter Raleigh, 28
King James's *Conduct in the Interdict of* Venice, 34
King Charles *the Firſt's Acceſſion to the Crown; and the Condition of* England *at that time,* 37
The Breach betwixt Archbiſhop Abbot, *and Biſhop* Laud, 38
The Riſe of King Charles's *Troubles; and the firſt and ſecond War with the* Scots, 41
The meeting of the Parliament, November 1640. 45
The Fall and Character of Wentworth, *Earl of* Strafford, 47
The Fall and Character of Archbiſhop Laud, 55
The Famous Petition and Remonſtrance of the ſtate of the Nation; and the King's Anſwer, 61
His coming to the Houſe of Commons in Perſon, to demand the Five Members; and the Conſequences of it, 63

His

His Leaving the Parliament, and the beginning of the Civil Wars; and who began it, 66
The Treaty of Uxbridge, *how unsuccesful; and the Marquis of* Montrose's *fatal Letter the Cause,* 68
The Character and Fall of King Charles *the First,* 74
His Opinion of Defensive Arms in the business of Rochel, 79
The Character of his Favourite Buckingham, 84
The true Cause of the Scot's *coming into* England, *being a forg'd Letter,* 91
King Charles's *design before his Death to Resign the Crown: And the Army's to set up the Duke of* Glouceſter, 98
His Consulting the Sortes Virgilianæ, 100
The Usurpation and Character of Oliver Cromwell, 102
The Restoration of King Charles *the Second, and the Manner of it; with* Monk's *part in it, and the Risk* Monk *ran in* Scotland, 114
One of the true Causes of the Fall of Chancellor Clarendon, 122
The discovery of the Popiſh Plot; *and its Consequences,* 123

The Bill of Exclusion; the design of it, and how manag'd, 125
The Disgrace of the Duke of Monmouth; *and the Consequences of it,* 131
The Protestant Plot, *and the Effects of it,* 133
The Death of King Charles *the Second, and the Suspicions about the Manner of it discuss'd,* 135
His Character, 143
The Reign of King James *the Second,* 148
The Advantages and Examples he might have made use of, 150
His Brother's and Pope Innocent II.*'s Advice to him,* 152
His first Speech to his Privy Council, 153
His first Speech to his Parliament, 156
His Second Memorable Speech to his Parliament, 157
Two Letters from a Foreign Minister to their Ambassador in England, *upon the occasion of this Speech,* 159
Monmouth*'s Invasion, and the Grounds of it,* 160
Some Passages out of Monmouth's *Pocket-Book,* 166
Monmouth's *Character,* 167

His

His Letter in his Retirement, 169
King James's *Speech to the Parliament upon* Monmouth's *Defeat,* 171
The Parliament's Addreſs thereupon, 173
The Senſe of a Foreign Miniſter of this laſt Speech, 175
The Advances made to the Subverſion of the Engliſh *Conſtitution,* 177
King James's *Ambaſſy to* Rome, *and how received,* 178
The Panegyricks of King James *upon that occaſion,* 182
The Manner how King James *had been treated by another Pope, in his Marriage with the Princeſs of* Modena, 187
King James *grants a Toleration of Religion,* 191
He aſſumes a diſpenſing Power, 194
He ſets up an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, 197
The Suſpenſion of the Biſhop of London, 198
The Proceedings againſt Magdalen-College, 201
His Second Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, 206
The Affair of the Seven Biſhops, 208

The

The Contents.

The Birth of a pretended Prince of Wales, 212
A new Parliament deſign'd; and to what end, 213
The Prince and Princeſs of Orange*'s Opinion about the Penal Laws and Teſt; and how obtain'd,* 215
The Army Modell'd, 220
The Methods us'd in Ireland; *and* Tyrconnel*'s Advancement,* 222
The Regulating of the Corporations; and the Severities againſt the Proteſtants 228
The Act of Attainder there, 232
The Intereſt that Foreign States had in England, 234
The Emperor's Letter to King James, 236
The Intereſt of the Prince of Orange, 237
The bad Circumſtances of the Houſe of Orange *at the Birth of the Preſent Prince of* Orange, *now King of* England, 238
How he came to be Reſtored in Holland, 240
The Deſolation of Holland *in* 1672, 242

The

The Reasons of that Desolation, 244
The Difficulty the Prince of Orange *had to grapple with,* 247
The Duke of Luxemburgh's *Cruelties at* Swammerdam, 249
The Affair of Overall's *Convocation; and how resented by King* James, 255
His Letter to Dr. Abbot *on that Occasion,* 257

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ERRATA.

PAGE 62. *Line* 14, 15. *for* the King's Anſwer to it at its delivery; *read* Anſwer to them at their delivery.

MEMOIRS

Of the moſt Material

Tranſactions in *England*, &c.

THERE is not a Nation in *Europe*, that from the *Conſtitution* of its Government might have promis'd it ſelf a more firm and laſting Repoſe than *England*: And yet ſcarce any Kingdom we know upon Earth has ſuffered ſo many and various Convulſions. As if ſome malevolent Planet had over-rul'd one of the beſt of Human Conſtitutions, and by an unaccountable Fatality had render'd ineffectual all the Endeavours of our Anceſtors to make themſelves and their Poſterity

happy under a *Limited Monarchy*. A Monarchy, in which the Prerogative of the Prince, and the Liberty of the People are ſo equally temper'd, that there ſeems nothing wanting, that may tend to the Happineſs of either.

The Excellency of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution.

The King of *England* has the Glory to Rule over a Free People; and the People of *England* that of being ſubject to a Monarch, who by the Laws of the Countrey is inveſted with as much Power and Greatneſs as a Wiſe and Beneficent Prince can reaſonably wiſh for. To compleat all, the Crown of *England* has been for many Ages Hereditary, and fix'd in one Family: The Breaches that have been ſometimes made in the immediate Line, not at all derogating from the nature of a Succeſſive Monarchy, ſo long as a due Reſpect is had to the Blood, and for the moſt part the next immediate Heir, except only upon great and urgent Difficulties and Emergencies. The Crown being thus Hereditary, it might have reaſonably been expected, That we ſhould not only be ſtrangers to the Inconveniences that ariſe naturally from Competitions in Elective Kingdoms; but that it ſhould be always the Intereſt of the Prince that's in Poſſeſſion of the Throne, ſo

ſo to govern his People, as not to put them upon the neceſſity at any time to break through the Succeſſion, and paſs by the next Immediate Heir.

But ſuch is the brittle ſtate of human things, that notwithſtanding all the Advantages and Excellencies of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, ſcarce an Age has paſs'd without ſome remarkable Struggle, either between King and People for *Prerogative* and *Liberty*, or between Competitors for the Crown it ſelf.

The Reign of Q. *Elizabeth.*

The Glory of *England* was arriv'd to a high pitch in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth.* Her People liv'd at their Eaſe, and were happy under her Auſpicious Conduct; and her oppreſt Neighbours felt the benign Influences of her great and bountiful Mind. She it was that made Head againſt the then *Paramount Power* of *Chriſtendom*, and that in both the Old and New Worlds: And it was in a great meaſure owing to her Conduct and Fortune, that the *Spaniard* fell ſhort of the *Univerſal Monarchy.*

Her Character.

To draw a Picture worthy of Queen *Elizabeth*, were a Task fit only for the Greateſt Maſters; ſince all that ever was *Great* or *Wiſe* in Womankind, did contribute to make up her Character. As to

her Perſon, ſhe had but little of a Regular Beauty in her Face; but that was well proportion'd, and in the main very agreeable. Her Mien and Gait were Noble; and in every thing ſhe ſaid or did, there was ſomething of Majeſty that ſtruck more Awe than Love: Tho when ſhe had a mind, ſhe could put on Charms that few were able to reſiſt. In her Features, Perſon, and Mien, ſhe had more of *Henry* the Eighth, than of the Unfortunate *Anna Bullen*, her Mother: But they were his good, and none of his ill Qualities, which ſhe deriv'd from her Father.

Her Youth was a continued Scene of Afflictions; but ſhe was happy in that ſhe ſuffered one of the greateſt, before ſhe was capable of feeling the weight of it; for ſhe was ſcarce Three Years old, when her Mother was ſacrific'd to the Rage and Jealouſy of her Husband. And ſhe that had been the Year ſhe was born, declar'd not only *Heir Apparent* of the Crown, but (which was out of the ordinary Road) *Princeſs of Wales*, and that by Act of Parliament, was now by another Act declar'd Illegitimate, and excluded from the Succeſſion.

Not-

Notwithſtanding this ſtrange Reverſe of Fortune, particular Care was taken of her Education, eſpecially by her Brother *Edward the Sixth*, who lov'd her above all things, and was ſcarce ever pleas'd but in her Company. Before ſhe was Seventeen Years of Age ſhe underſtood perfectly well the *Latin*, *French*, and *Italian* Tongues; and was ſo far Miſtreſs of the *Greek*, that ſhe tranſlated into *Latin* Two of *Iſocrates*'s *Orations*; one of which I have ſeen of her own Hand-writing, corrected by her Tutor but in Three places, whereof one is an Error only in the *Orthography*. She was indefatigable in the Study of Learning, eſpecially *Philoſophy*, *Hiſtory*, *Divinity*, and *Rhetorick*; not forgetting both Vocal and Inſtrumental *Muſick*, as far as it might become one of her Quality.

Being thus Learned, it was no wonder ſhe form'd her Tongue and Pen to a pure and elegant way of ſpeaking and writing, and her Mind to the Nobleſt Notions of Philoſophy, and the higheſt Practice of Virtue.

Her Brother dying, Queen *Mary*'s Hereditary Averſion to her upon the account of their *Mothers*, broke out with all the marks of Ill-Nature and Revenge. And

Philip the Second, who prov'd afterwards her greateſt Enemy, was the Perſon that preſerv'd her Life; but it was upon a mere political Deſign, which, however, miſcarried. During all that Reign the Princeſs *Elizabeth* was toſt from one Confinement to another; being oblig'd many times to ſuffer Indignities far unworthy of her Birth; till at laſt, by the Death of Queen *Mary*, ſhe was call'd from a Priſon to a Throne, at the Age of Twenty five Years. Upon receit of the News of her Siſter's Death, and that ſhe her ſelf was proclaim'd Queen, it's ſaid ſhe fell down upon her Knees, and after a ſhort ſilence broke out with theſe words of the *Pſalmiſt*, *A Domino factum eſt iſtud, & eſt mirabile in oculis noſtris*: Which Words ſhe took afterwards for her *Motto* in ſome of her Gold Coin.

She begun her reigne Nov.r 17. A.D. 1558

During all the time of her Reign ſhe would never allow her *Title* to be debated or reaſoned upon, nor ſo much as explain'd or vindicated. She thought it ſufficient that ſhe wore the Crown, and was reſolv'd, and knew well how to maintain it upon her Head, without the help of Paper-Arguments. She receiv'd with Indignation a Propoſition that was made to her, to have her *Title* aſſerted in Parliament;

liament: And ſcorn'd to Repeal even the *Act* which declar'd her Illegitimate, and incapable to ſucceed.

Her Reign was long and glorious, being lov'd of her People, fear'd and admir'd by her Enemies, and attended with conſtant Succeſs in all her Enterprizes. Never Prince was better ſerv'd, nor more happy in the choice of her Servants; and no Age can inſtance ſuch a Set of Able Miniſters as ſhe had: Her Court at home was the quiet and happy Seat of the *Muſes*, while her Fleets and Armies abroad gather'd *Laurels* every where for their Miſtreſs and themſelvts.

She had to perfection the Art of pleaſing her Parliament; and ſhe and they never parted in diſcontent, but with the higheſt proofs of mutual Confidence. What ſort of men they were that compoſed the Houſe of Commons during her Reign, and of how different a ſtamp from thoſe in that of her *Succeſſor*, is beſt expreſs'd in the words of Sir *Robert Nauntwell*, Secretary to King *James*, who was a Member of Parliament in both Reigns; which may not be improper to inſert in the *Appendix*. *Appendix*, Numb. 1. The Character of the Members of Parliament in Q. *Elizabeth*'s Reign.

If Queen *Elizabeth* can be properly ſaid to have had *Favourites*, they were

chiefly the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Eſſex*; but ſhe never fail'd to humble them upon every occaſion, where they preſum'd too much upon her Favour. The one ſhe recall'd with Ignominy from his Government of the *United Provinces*, for behaving himſelf haughtily in his Office: And at another time, upon his threatning *Bower* the *Uſher of the Black Rod*, to have him turn'd out of his Place for ſtopping one of his Retinue at the Queen's Bed-Chamber Door, ſhe told him with a ſevere Frown, accompanied with an Oath, *My Lord, I had a mind to do you good, but you muſt not expect a Monopoly of my Favours: I have other Subjects to ſhow my Bounty to; and I will give and take back again, when, and as often as I pleaſe. If you pretend to command here, I'll find ways to humble you. I know of no Maſter, but I will make you know there is a Miſtreſs. And take care upon your peril, that no hurt be done* Bower, *for I'll make you anſwer for him.* The Misfortune of the Earl of *Eſſex* every body knows: Though otherways a brave Gentleman, and endow'd with excellent Qualities, yet he valued himſelf too much upon the Queen's Favour; which together with the Contrivances of his Enemies hurried him on to

to Courſes that in the end loſt him his Head.

A Monarch ſupported with a *Burleigh*, a *Walſingham*, a *Salisbury* for the *Cabinet*; a *Nottingham*, a *Drake*, a *Raleigh* for *War*; with a great many others equally fit for both, could ſcarce fail of being great and fortunate; nor can any thing reflect more Luſtre upon her Wiſdom, than her choice of ſuch men.

Walſingham was a Pattern for all Stateſmen to copy after. By his Vigilance and Addreſs he preſerv'd his Miſtreſs's Crown and Life from daily Attempts and *Conſpiracies* againſt her; and by a refin'd piece of Policy defeated for a whole Year together, the Meaſures *Spain* had taken for fitting out their *Armado* to Invade *England*. The Character of Sir *Francis Walſingham*.

The vaſt *Preparations* that were making for a conſiderable time in *Spain*, kept all *Europe* in ſuſpenſe, and it was not certain againſt whom they were deſign'd; though it was the general Opinion, they were to ſubdue the *Netherlands* all at once; which *Spain* was ſenſib'e could not be done without a greater Force by Sea as well as Land, than had been hitherto employ'd for that Service. Queen *Elizabeth* thought fit to be upon her Guard,

Guard, and had ſome Jealouſies that ſhe might be aim'd at; but how to find it out, was the difficulty, which at length *Walſingham* overcame.

He had Intelligence from *Madrid*, That *Philip* had told his *Council*, that he had diſpatch'd an Expreſs to *Rome* with a Letter writ with his own Hand to the *Pope*, acquainting him with the true Deſign of his Preparations, and asking his Bleſſing upon it; which for ſome Reaſons he would not yet diſcloſe to them, till the return of the Courier. The Secret being thus lodg'd with the Pope, *Walſingham* by the Means of a *Venetian* Prieſt retain'd at *Rome* as his Spy, got a Copy of the Original Letter, which was ſtolen out of the Pope's Cabinet by a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, who took the Keys out of the Pope's Pocket while he ſlept. How upon this Intelligence *Walſingham* found a way to retard the *Spaniſh* Invaſion for a whole Year, by getting the *Spaniſh* Bills proteſted at *Genoa*, which ſhould have ſupplied them with Money to carry on their Preparations; being properly a Mercantile Affair, is needleſs here to mention.

I ſhall only give one Inſtance more of *Walſingham*'s dexterity in employing and in-

inſtructing his Spies how to get him Intelligence of the moſt ſecret Affairs of Princes. The Court of Queen *Elizabeth* had reaſon to have an Eye upon the King of *Scots*, as being the next Heir to the Crown, and who they knew was courted with all poſſible Inſinuations into the *French* Intereſt. In order to fathom King *James*'s Intentions, there was one *Wigmore* ſent to *Scotland*, who pretending to be diſoblig'd in *England*, fled thither for Protection. Sir *Francis Walſingham* gives him above Ten Sheets of Paper of Inſtructions, all writ with his own Hand, which I have read in the *Cotton* Library, ſo diſtinct and ſo digeſted, as a Man of far inferior parts to *Wigmore* could hardly fail to be a Maſter in his Trade. In theſe Papers he inſtructs him *how to find out King* James's *Natural Temper*; *his Morals*; *his Religion*; *his Opinion of Marriage*; *his Inclinations to Queen* Elizabeth, *to* France, *to* Spain, *to the* Hollanders, *and in ſhort, to all his Neighbours*. He likewiſe directs him how to behave himſelf towards the King, *At Table*; *when a Hunting*; *upon his receiving good or bad News*; *at his going to Bed*; and indeed in all the Publick and Private Scenes of his Life. *Walſingham* was not miſtaken in his

his Man; for though there paſt a conſtant Correſpondence betwixt them, *Wigmore* liv'd in the greateſt Favour and Familiarity with King *James* for Nine or Ten Years together, without the leaſt Suſpicion of his being a Spy.

Walſingham alſo laid the Foundation of the *Civil Wars* in *France*, and the *Low Countries*, which put a final ſtop to the vaſt Deſigns of the *Houſe of Auſtria*. Upon which occaſion he told the Queen at his Return from his Embaſſy to France, *That ſhe had no reaſon to fear the* Spaniard; *for though he had a ſtrong Appetite, and a good Digeſtion, he had given him ſuch a Bone to pick, as would take him up Twenty Years at leaſt, and break his Teeth at laſt: So her Majeſty had no more to do, but to throw into the Fire he had kindled, ſome* Engliſh *Fuel from time to time to keep it burning.* This Great Man after all the Services he had perform'd for his Queen and Countrey, gave a remarkable Proof at his Death how far he had preferr'd the Publick Intereſt to his own; for he died ſo poor, that his Friends were oblig'd to bury him privately in the Night, for fear his Body ſhould be arreſted for Debt. *A Fault which few Stateſmen ſince his time have been guilty of.*

Such

Such Miniſters alſo for Capacity and Application, were *Cecil* Lord *Burleigh*, and his Son the *Earl of Salisbury*, the Inheritor of his Father's great Qualities and Places. How refin'd a Politician he was, and how throughly acquainted with the moſt ſecret Deſigns of Foreign Courts, cannot be better expreſs'd, than in the words of the ſame *Nauntwell*; to which the Reader is referr'd. *Appendix*, Numb. 2.

But to return to Queen *Elizabeth*: It appears by her whole Conduct ſhe had no Inclination to Marriage, being loth to ſhare her Power with any other. It's true, ſhe ſeem'd ſometimes to give Ear to Propoſitions that were made her by ſeveral Princes; but this was done either to gain time, or manage their Friendſhip to her own Ends. When the Parliament addreſs'd her to Marry, ſhe handſomly excus'd her ſelf in a Pathetick Speech, concluding with this Expreſſion; *To me*, ſaid ſhe, *it ſhall be a full ſatisfaction both for the Memorial of my Name, and for my Glory alſo, if when I ſhall let my laſt Breath, it be engraven upon my Marble Tomb, Here lies* Elizabeth, *who reign'd a Virgin, and dy'd one.* The whole Speech is of ſo Noble a Strain, that it deſerves a place in the *Appendix*. *Appendix*, Numb. 3.

She

She was very ſparing of *Honours*; inſomuch that Sir *Francis Walſingham* had been employ'd in ſeveral Embaſſies and other Matters of State for many Years, before ſhe could be prevail'd with to make him a Knight, notwithſtanding it appears that he frequently ask'd it, and particularly in a Printed Letter of his to *Cecil*. The Honour of Knighthood, though often proſtituted ſince, was in ſo great Eſteem in her Reign, that a Gentleman of *Lincolnſhire* having rais'd Three hundred men for her Service at *Tilbury Camp*, upon his own Intereſt, told his Wife at parting, That he hop'd thereby to deſerve the Queen's Favour ſo far, as that ſhe ſhould be a Lady at his Return.

She had a particular Friendſhip for *Henry* the Fourth of *France*; and to her in a great meaſure he ow'd his Crown. She never laid any thing more to heart than his changing his Religion: And it was a long time before ſhe could be brought to believe it. But when ſhe receiv'd the Account of it from himſelf, all her Conſtancy fail'd her; and in the Agony of her Grief, ſnatching a Pen, ſhe writ him a ſhort Expoſtulatory Letter, worthy of her ſelf, and of that melancholy occaſion; which is related in the *Appendix*.

Appendix, Numb. 4.

Appendix. This her Grief (ſays her Hiſtorian) ſhe ſought to allay by reading the Sacred Scriptures, and the Writings of the Fathers, and even the Books of *Philoſophers*; tranſlating about that time for an Amuſement, *Boethius de Conſolatione Philoſophiæ*, into Elegant *Engliſh*.

The Affair of *Mary Stuart*, Q. of *Scots*.

The only Action that ſeems to reflect upon her Memory, was the Death of *Mary Queen of Scots*. There had been an Emulation betwixt them of a long ſtanding, occaſioned at firſt by the latter's aſſuming the Arms and Title of Queen of *England*; which it's no wonder Queen *Elizabeth* highly reſented. A great many other Accidents did contribute to alienate their Affections. But when it fell out that every day produc'd ſome new Conſpiracy againſt the Life of Queen *Elizabeth*, and that in moſt of them the Queen of *Scots* was concern'd either as a Party, or the Occaſion; Queen *Elizabeth* was put upon a fatal Neceſſity of either taking off the Queen of *Scots*, or expoſing her own Perſon to the frequent Attempts of her Enemies. With what Reluctancy Queen *Elizabeth* was brought to conſent to her Death, and how ſhe was deceiv'd at laſt in Signing the

1587 & 7th Feb: Beheaded at Fotheringhay Castle

Davison

Cambden.

the Warrant for her Execution, by the over diligence of her Secretary and Privy-Council, her Celebrated Hiſtorian has given us a very full and impartial Account.

Yet Queen *Elizabeth* is not altogether excuſable in this matter; for Queen *Mary* came into *England* upon a Promiſe made her long before. Queen *Elizabeth* ſent her once a *Ring*, and at the ſame time a Meſſage, That if at any time ſhe wanted her Protection, ſhe might be aſſured of it; and the Token betwixt them was Queen *Mary*'s ſending her back the ſame *Ring*. That Unfortunate Princeſs ſeeing her Affairs deſperate in *Scotland*, diſpatch'd a Letter to Queen *Elizabeth* with the Ring, to put her in mind of her Promiſe; but without waiting for an Anſwer, ſhe came into *England* the very next day. They were both to be pitied, the one for her Sufferings, and the other for being the Cauſe of them: And I have ſeen ſeveral Letters in the *Cotton-Library*, of Queen *Mary*'s Hand, to Queen *Elizabeth*, writ in the moſt moving Strain that could be; moſt of them in *French*, being the Language ſhe did generally write in. There was one particularly, wherein ſhe tells her, *That her long Impriſonment*

ment had brought her to a Dropſical Swelling in her Legs, and other Diſeaſes that for the Honour of her Sex ſhe forbears to commit to Paper: And concludes thus, *Your moſt Affectionate Siſter and Couſin; and the moſt miſerable Princeſs that ever wore a Crown.* When ſuch Letters as theſe had no influence upon Queen *Elizabeth*, it may reaſonably be concluded, That nothing but Self-Preſervation could oblige her to carry her Reſentments ſo far as ſhe did.

To ſum up the Character of this Renowned Queen in a few words: She found the Kingdom at her coming to the Throne, *in a moſt afflicted condition, embroil'd on the one ſide with a* Scotch, *and on the other with a* French *War; the Crown overcharg'd with her Father's and Brother's Debts; its Treaſure exhauſted, the People diſtracted with different Opinions in Religion; her ſelf without Friends, with a controverted Title, and ſtrengthen'd with no Alliance abroad.* After one of the longeſt Reigns that ever was, ſhe died in Peace, *leaving her Countrey Potent at Sea, and Rich in People and Trade; her Father's and her Brother's Debts paid; the Crown without any Incumbrance; a great Treaſure in the Exchequer; the Coin brought to a*

March 24. 1602. Reign'd 44. years 3 Mon: odd days

Spaine's rod Roma's ruine Netherland's reliefe
Earth's joy, England's gem, World's wonder Nature's cheife

true Standard; *Religion ſettled upon a regular and laſting Baſis*; *her ſelf having been admir'd and fear'd by all her Neighbouring Princes, and her Friendſhip courted by Monarchs that had ſcarce ever before any further knowledge of* England, *but the Name.* So that her Succeſſor had good reaſon to ſay of her, *That ſhe was one who in Wiſdom and Felicity of Government ſurpaſs'd all Princes ſince the days of* Auguſtus.

After all, To the Reproach of thoſe ſhe had made great and happy, ſhe was but ill attended in her laſt Sickneſs; and near her Death, forſaken by all but three or four Perſons; every body making haſte to adore the *Riſing Sun.*

With Queen *Elizabeth* dy'd in a great part the Glory and Fortune of the *Engliſh* Nation; and the ſucceeding Reigns ſerv'd only to render hers the more Illuſtrious. As ſhe was far from invading the *Liberties of her Subjects*, ſo ſhe was careful to maintain and preſerve her own *juſt Prerogative*; nor did ever any Prince that ſat upon the *Engliſh* Throne carry the true and eſſential parts of Royalty further: But at the ſame time the whole Conduct of her Life plac'd her beyond the Suſpicion of ever having ſought

Great-

Greatneſs for any other end, than to make her People ſhare with her in it.

The Reign of K. *James.*

It was not ſo with the Prince that ſucceeded her. He was the more fond of *Prerogative*, becauſe he had been kept ſhort of it in his Native Country. He graſp'd at an *Immoderate Power*, but with an ill Grace; and if we believe the Hiſtorians of that time, with a deſign to make his People *little*. If ſo, he had his Wiſh; for from his firſt Acceſſion to the Crown, the Reputation of *England* began ſenſibly to ſink; and Two Kingdoms which, diſunited, had made each of them apart a conſiderable Figure in the World, now when united under one King, fell ſhort of the Reputation which the leaſt of them had in former Ages.

The latter Years of King *James* fill'd our *Annals* with little elſe but Misfortunes at home and abroad. The Loſs of the *Palatinate*, and the Ruin of the Proteſtants in *Bohemia* through his Negligence; the Trick that was put upon him by the Houſe of *Auſtria* in the buſineſs of the *Spaniſh Match*; and the continued Struggle betwixt him and his Parliament about Redreſs of Grievances, were things that help'd on to leſſen his Credit abroad,

and imbitter the Minds of his Subjects at home.

Repenting of these unlucky *Measures* too late, King *James* went off the *Stage*, not much lamented; and left in Legacy to his Son, *a discontented People*; *an unnecessary, expensive War*; *an incumbred Revenue, and an exhausted Treasury*; together with the Charge of his Grandchildren by the *Queen of Bohemia*, that were now divested of a large *Patrimony*, deriv'd to them by a long Series of Illustrious Ancestors. In fine, he entail'd upon his Son all the Miseries that befel him; and left in the minds of his Subjects those Sparks of Discontent, that broke out some Years after into a Flame of *Civil War*, which ended in the Ruin of King *Charles*, and of the *Monarchy* with him.

His Character.

This Prince, though his Father and Mother were esteemed the Handsomest Couple of the Age they liv'd in, was himself but a Homely Person, nor in any of his Features was to be found the least Resemblance of the Beautiful *Mary Stuart*, or Lord *Darnly*. No Prince had a more Liberal Education: And it could not well be otherwise, having the Celebrated *Buchanan* for his Tutor. He was acquainted

acquainted with moſt parts of Learning, but valued himſelf upon his Knowledge in *Divinity* above the reſt; in which he writ ſome things that were much eſteem'd at that time. He writ and ſpoke well, but in a Stile that border'd too much upon *Pedantry*, which was indeed the common Fault of that Age.

As to his Religion, notwithſtanding all his Advances to the Pope and Papiſts upon the account, firſt of the *Spaniſh*, and afterwards the *French* Match, he was really *Calviniſt* in moſt Points, but that of *Church-Government*, witneſs ſome of his Books, and his Zeal for the *Synod of Dort*. But as to Epiſcopacy, he ſhew'd ſo much Learning and Reading in his Arguments for it at the Conference of *Hampton-Court*, that Archbiſhop *Whitgift* ſaid, *He was verily perſuaded the King ſpake by the Spirit of God.*

Notwithſtanding his Mother was dethron'd to make room for him, and conſequently he could have no Right, but the Conſent of the People while ſhe liv'd; yet upon all occaſions he was fond of being thought to have a *Divine Right* to the Crown. His Courage was much ſuſpected; and ſome would aſcribe his want of it to the Fright his Mother was

in upon the Death of *David Rizio*. The Troubles of his Youth were various, occaſion'd chiefly by *Factions* of Great Men that ſtrove who ſhould have the Management of him: But when he came of Age he ſought all occaſions to be reveng'd upon ſuch of them as were living, and the Poſterity of thoſe that were dead. *Goury*'s *Conſpiracy* being in it ſelf ſo improbable a thing, and attended with ſo many inconſiſtent Circumſtances, was disbeliev'd at the time it was ſaid to have been attempted: And Poſterity has ſwallow'd down for a Truth, what their Anceſtors took for a mere Fiction.

He came to the Crown of *England* by Lineal Deſcent, and the Verbal Deſignation of Queen *Elizabeth* upon her Death-bed. And the Conſpiracy wherewith *Cobham* and Sir *Walter Raleigh* were charged to ſet him by the *Engliſh* Throne, was no leſs Myſtery than that of *Goury*'s had been before. The only uncontroverted Treaſon that happen'd in his Reign, was the *Gunpowder Plot*; and yet the Letter to the Lord *Mounteagle*, that pretended to diſcover it, was but a Contrivance of his own; the thing being diſcover'd to him before, by *Henry the Fourth* of *France*, through the means of

The *Gunpowder Plot*.

of *Monſieur de Rhony*, after *Duke of Sully*. King *Henry* paid dear for his Friendſhip to King *James*; and there is reaſon to believe that it was upon this account, among others, that a Party of the Church of *Rome* employ'd *Ravillac* to murther that *Great Man*.

King *James* was equally happy and unhappy in every one of his Children. Prince *Henry* was the Darling of Mankind, and a Youth of vaſt Hopes, and wonderful Virtues; but was too ſoon Man, to be long-liv'd. The *Duke of Sully* being in *England*, to congratulate King *James* upon his Acceſſion to the Crown, laid the Foundation of a ſtrict Friendſhip betwixt his Maſter and Prince *Henry*; which was afterwards carried on by Letters and Meſſages, till the Death of that King. Though it's a Secret to this day what was the real Deſign of all thoſe vaſt Preparations that were made by *Henry the Fourth* for ſome time before his Death; yet certain it is, thoſe Preparations were ſuch as kept all *Europe* in ſuſpenſe: And I have ſeen ſome Papers that make it more than probable, that Prince *Henry* was not only acquainted with the Secret, but was engag'd in the Deſign. But whatever it was, it prov'd

The Character of Pr. *Henry*.

abortive, by the Murther of that Excellent King juſt at the time when it was to have been declar'd, his Army being ready to march. Prince *Henry* ſurviv'd him but two years, and dy'd univerſally lamented. The World is very often willing to attribute the Untimely Death of Princes to unfair Practices; and it was the general Rumour at that time, that this Prince was poiſon'd. Whatever was in it, there is yet in Print a *Sermon* preach'd at St. *James*'s upon the Diſſolution of his Family, that boldly inſinuated ſome ſuch thing: And alſo Sir *Francis Bacon*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, in his Speech at the Trial of the *Earl of Somerſet*, had ſome Reflections upon the Intimacy of that Lord with Sir *Thomas Overbury*, which ſeem to point that way; inſomuch that there were ſeveral Expreſſions left out of the printed Copy, that were in the Speech. But after all, there is an Account in Print of what was obſervable upon the Opening of Prince *Henry*'s Body, under the Hand of Sir *Theodore Mayerne*, and Five other Phyſicians, from which there can be no Inference drawn, that he was poyſon'd.

Appendix, Numb. 5.

The

The Second of King *James*'s Children was the *Princeſs Elizabeth*, married to the *Elector Palatine*, who was afterwards to his Ruin elected King of *Bohemia*. It is hard to ſay whether the Virtues of this Lady, or her Misfortunes were greater; for as ſhe was one of the beſt of Women, ſhe may be likewiſe reckon'd in the number of the moſt unfortunate. King *James* thought to retrieve his Son-in-law's loſt Fortune by the way of Treaty; but in that, and in every thing elſe, the Houſe of *Auſtria* outwitted him; ſo that the poor Prince *Palatine* gain'd nothing by his Alliance with *England*, but the hard Fate to be abandon'd by thoſe whoſe Honour and Intereſt it was to ſupport him. Nor had the Crown of *England* any ſhare in the Honour of re-eſtabliſhing the *Palatine* Family, which happen'd Thirty Years after; for at the time of the *Treaty of Munſter*, when that matter was ſettled, King *Charles the Firſt* was ſo far from being in a condition to mediate for his Friends, that he was himſelf a Priſoner to thoſe very Enemies that in a few Months after the ſigning of that Treaty, took his Life. Of whom, being the Youngeſt of King *James*'s Children, and of his Misfortunes, there will be too much

Of Queen of *Bohemia*.

much occaſion to ſpeak in the following Sheets.

But to return to King *James*; as he was equally happy and unhappy in his Children, he was for the moſt part unhappy in his *Favourites*; being oblig'd to abandon one upon the account of *Overbury*'s Murther; and coming to hate another the latter part of his Life as much as he had ever lov'd him before.

The *Spaniſh Match.*

In order to obtain of the Emperor the *Reſtoration* of his Son-in-Law, he was wheedled into that Inglorious Counſel of ſending the *Prince* into *Spain* for a Match that was either never deſign'd him, or too late: And it was more owing to *Philip the Third*'s Generoſity, than to King *James*'s Politicks, that he ever ſaw *England* again. To this Friendſhip with *Spain* he ſacrific'd his own Honour, with the Life of that Excellent Perſon, Sir *Walter Raleigh*. This Gentleman, after Fourteen Years Impriſonment in the Tower, upon the account of a Myſterious Treaſon, during which time he did oblige the World with one of the beſt Hiſtories that ever was writ, came to be ſet at liberty, and was ſent with an ample Commiſſion, which was judg'd by Lawyers equivalent to a Pardon, to diſcover and take

take poſſeſſion of new Countries and Mines in *America*. He gave King *James* the *Plan* of his Deſign, and of the Place he was to land at; which prov'd the Ruin of that Enterprize; for before he could get ready to ſail from *England*, the Court of *Spain* had a Copy of it; which Sir *Walter Raleigh* found to his ſad Experience was got to *America* before him, and had thereby enabled the *Spaniards* to baffle the Attempt. At his return, to pleaſe the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who had got a mighty Aſcendent over King *James*, this laſt of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Favourites loſt his Head upon the former Sentence of Treaſon, there being no other way to reach it.

K. *James*'s Conduct in the buſineſs of the *Palatinate*.

All our Hiſtories have mention'd at large the buſineſs of the *Spaniſh Match*; but few, or none, King *James*'s Conduct in that of the *Palatinate*; which can hardly be expreſs'd under a ſofter name than *one continued Infatuation* on his part. The Account of this Matter is writ with the greateſt Exactneſs, though as favourably for King *James* as was poſſible, by the Learned *Spanhemius* in his Hiſtory of *Lowyſe Juliane Electrice Palatine*, Daughter of *William Prince of Orange*, and Mother to *the King of Bohemia*, who outliv'd

liv'd her Son, and was one of the greateſt Paterns of Virtue that any Age has produc'd. Referring the Reader to the Book it ſelf, I ſhall only mention a few things out of it.

To make this Book and the matter of the *Palatinate* better underſtood, it's to be remembred, That the *Elector* after his Marriage with King *James*'s Daughter, was elected King of *Bohemia*, as the moſt powerful Prince, at that time, of the Empire, to oppoſe the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and protect the Liberty of that Kingdom. He was ſcarce Crown'd, but he loſt both his New Kingdom, and his Ancient Inheritance of the *Palatinate*, by the Battel of *Prague*, where his Army was entirely defeated, and he himſelf forc'd to fly, leaving *Bohemia* and the *Palatinate* both, a Prey to the Emperor.

Though the Parliament of *England* was zealous to reſtore the *Palatine Family* by Force of Arms, as the moſt effectual means to do it, and had offer'd great Supplies to that purpoſe; yet King *James* was ſo lull'd aſleep with the Inſinuations of *Gundamor*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, that he could be brought to no other Methods but thoſe of Treaty. While he was ſending one Embaſſy after ano-

another to *Vienna* and *Bruſſels*, the poor King of *Bohemia* ſeeing how little was to be expected from them, ventur'd to try his Fortune once more in the *Palatinate*; and with the Aſſiſtance of Count *Mansfield* and the Duke of *Brunſwick*, beat the Imperialiſts in ſeveral Rencounters, and repoſſeſs'd himſelf of ſeveral Towns. But when he was in a fair way to be Maſter of the Whole, he was obliged to retire, and disband his Army, merely to pleaſe King *James*, who was poſſeſs'd of this wild Notion, *That to lay down his Arms, was the only way to get good Terms from the Emperor.* Upon which a *Treaty* was ſet a foot at *Bruſſels*, where King *James* conſented by way of Preliminary, That his Son-in-Law ſhould not only wave the Title of the *King of Bohemia*, but that of *Elector Palatine*, which had not hitherto been queſtion'd, and which the poor Prince was forc'd to comply with.

This Treaty, after a great many other Mortifications put upon the *Palatine* Family, and upon K. *James* himſelf, was by a Contrivance of the Emperor transferr'd to *Ratisbon*, and came to nothing at laſt, as all the other Treaties had done. But while the *Imperialiſts* were thus amuſing

King

King *James* with Terms of Accommodation, and that the King of *Bohemia* had diſarm'd himſelf to pleaſe his Father-in-Law, *Heidleburgh*, and all the other places he had recover'd before, together with the reſt of the *Palatinate*, were all ſeiz'd by the Emperor, except only *Frankendale*, which continued to make a vigorous Reſiſtance. It would look like a Dream, to imagine that King *James* ſhould oblige his Son-in-Law to quit this place alſo, the only one left him of his whole Countrey, and that as the only effectual way to get back all the reſt: Yet it's true he did ſo, and that at the very time that the Emperor had actually transferr'd the *Electoral Dignity* from the *Palatine Family* to the *Houſe of Bavaria*.

The buſineſs of *Frankendale*.

For *Frankendale* being a Town then of great Strength, and the *Spaniards* lying expos'd to the daily Excurſions of its Gariſon, they found a way to trick King *James* out of it in this manner. *Gundomar* repreſents to him, That it being the only place left in the *Palatinate*, it could not hold out much longer; and that there was but one way to ſave it for his Son-in-Law, which was, To put it into the hands of the Governor of *Flanders* for ſome time, till things might be brought to

to an Accommodation by the Treaty then on foot; and if there ſhould happen any Interruption in it, then the Town ſhould be render'd back to King *James*, for the uſe of his Son-in-Law, in the ſame Condition, together with a free Paſſage for Fifteen hundred Foot, and Two hundred Horſe, to take poſſeſſion of it, and Six Months Proviſions.

King *James* being willing to do any thing, rather than break with *Spain*, agreed to this ſtrange Propoſition, and *Frankendale* was deliver'd up to the Governor of *Flanders* for Fifteen Months under theſe Conditions. But the Treaty being once more broke off, and the time elaps'd, when King *James* demanded that *Frankendale* ſhould be reſtor'd, it was told him, That he might have the Town, but by the Terms of the Agreement he was to have a Paſſage for his Troops through the *Spaniſh Low-Countries*; but that there was no Article, That he ſhould have a Paſſage through any other Places that were in their poſſeſſion in *Germany*. And thus King *James* was once more egregiouſly impos'd upon, for there was no way to come at the Town, but through Parts of *Germany* that were in the hands of *Spain*; and ſo the *Spaniards*

niards continued Maſters of *Frankendale.*

When ſeveral other Princes were ſome time after upon entring into a League for Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, and the Houſe of *Auſtria* was beginning to doubt the Succeſs, *Gundomar* play'd another Engine to break their Meaſures, by propoſing a Match with the *Infanta of Spain*, for the *Prince of Wales*, as the eaſieſt and ſureſt way to reſtore the *Palatine* Family; which like all the reſt, was only to amuſe King *James*, and was equally unſucceſsful.

It were too long to give the Detail of King *James*'s Conduct in this Affair, which was all of a piece. The Author ſums up the ills that attended it, in this, That thereby *the Proteſtant Religion was entirely rooted out of* Bohemia, *the Electoral Dignity transferr'd from the* Palatine *Family*, *the* Palatinate *it ſelf loſt*, *the Liberty of* Germany *overthrown*; and which he mentions with a ſenſible Regret, *the famous Library of* Heidelburgh *was carried to* Rome, *to the irreparable Prejudice of Learning.*

So that *Gundomar* had good reaſon to ſay, in one of his Letters to the Duke of *Lerma*, printed in the Hiſtory of that Duke's

Duke's Life, *That he had lull'd King* James *ſo faſt aſleep, that he hop'd neither the Cries of his Daughter nor her Children, nor the repeated Sollicitations of his Parliament and Subjects in their behalf, ſhould be able to awaken him.*

There are two Paſſages more very obſervable in this Author. The Court of *Spain* finding King *James* had broke off the *Spaniſh Match*, and was brought to ſee how egregiouſly he had been abus'd in it; they ventur'd upon a bold Attempt to trouble his Affairs, by whiſpering in his Ears ſome things to make him jealous of his Son: And that a good while after, when King *Charles* and his Parliament were entring upon vigorous Meaſures to eſpouſe the *Palatine* Cauſe, they found ways to ſow Diviſions between him and his People, that in progreſs of time broke out into a Civil War. The latter needs no Commentary; and the former is ſufficiently explain'd, by what a late Author has writ in the Life of Biſhop *Williams*, concerning that Prelate's being inſtrumental in making up ſome ſecret differences betwixt King *James* and his Son the Prince of *Wales*, a little before King *James*'s Death. *Spanhemius* ſums up what relates to this Affair, with this Remark,

Hacket's Life of B^p *Williams.*

That never Prince was more oblig'd to a Sister, than King Charles the First *was to the Queen of* Bohemia; *since it was only the Consideration of her and her Children, who were then the next Heirs to the Crown of* England, *that prevail'd with the Court of* Spain *to permit him to see* England *again.*

In the Interdict of *Venice.*

As in most Foreign Transactions King *James* was unhappy; so more particularly in the difference between *Pope Paul* V. and the *Venetians.* There appear'd at that time a wonderful Disposition in that State to work a Reformation in the Church, and throw off the Papal Yoke. In order to advance it, King *James* dispatch'd Sir *Henry Wotton* his Ambassador to *Venice*; and hearing that *Spain* had declar'd for the Pope, he declar'd for the *Venetians*; and acquainted *Justiniani*, their Ambassador in *England*, That he would not only assist Them with all the Forces of his Kingdom, but engage all his Allies in their Defence. At Sir *Henry Wotton*'s Arrival, the Breach between the Pope and the Republick was brought very near a Crisis; so that a total Separation was expected not only from the *Court*, but the *Church* of *Rome*; which was set on by the Learned *Padre Paulo*, and

and the Seven Divines of the State, with much Zeal, and conducted with as great Prudence. The Ambaſſador at his Audience offer'd all poſſible Aſſiſtance in his Maſter's Name, and accus'd the Pope and Papacy of being the chief Authors of all the Miſchiefs in *Chriſtendom*. This was receiv'd with great Deference and Reſpect to King *James:* And when the Pope's Nuncio objected, That King *James* was not a Catholick, and ſo was not to be rely'd upon; the Doge took him up briskly, and told him, That *the King of* England *believ'd in Jeſus Chriſt, but he did not know in whom ſome others believ'd.*

King *James* had ſent with *Wotton* his *Premonition to all Chriſtian Princes and States*, tranſlated into *Latin*, to be preſented to the *Senate*; which *Padre Paulo* and the other Divines preſs'd might be done at his firſt Audience; telling him, they were confident it would have a very good effect. The Ambaſſador could not be prevail'd with; alledging he had poſitive Orders to wait till St. *James*'s Day, which was not far off. This Conceit of preſenting K. *James*'s Book on St. *James*'s Day, ſpoil'd all; for before that day came, the Difference was made up, and that

happy Opportunity loſt. So that when he had his Audience on St. *James*'s Day, and had preſented the Book, all the Anſwer he got, was, *That they thank'd the King of* England *for his good will, but they were now reconcil'd to the Pope, and that therefore they were reſolv'd not to admit of any Change in their Religion, according to their Agreement with the Court of* Rome. How little Reputation he acquir'd in the Matter of the *Venetian* Interdict, appears yet more plainly in this, That in all the numerous Collections we have of *Letters* that paſs'd on that Subject between the Cardinals of *Joyeuſe* and *Perron*, the Marquis *de Freſnes* and *Henry* IV. there is not the leaſt notice taken of King *James* or his Embaſſy.

To have done with King *James*; it was ſaid, That he divided his time betwixt his Standiſh, his Bottle, and his Hunting. The laſt had his fair Weather, the two former his dull and cloudy; and therefore that it was no wonder his Writings were ſo variable; and that after he had pleaded for Witchcraft, and the Pope's being Antichriſt, *Somerſet's Affair* and the *Spaniſh Match* cur'd him of both. After having enjoy'd for the moſt part of his Life a firm Health, he died of a

Quartan

Quartan Ague, in the Fifty ninth Year of his Age, and with ſuch ſuſpicious Circumſtances, as gave occaſion of Enquiry into the manner of his Death, in the two firſt Parliaments that were call'd by his Son; all which came to nothing, by reaſon of their ſudden Diſſolutions.

The Reign of King *Charles I.*

King *Charles the Firſt* came to the Crown under all the Diſadvantages that have been mention'd; and yet the Nation might have hop'd that their Condition would be mended under a Prince of ſo much Virtue, as indeed he was, if the Seeds of Diſcontent which were ſown in his Father's time, had not every day taken deeper Root, and acquir'd new Growth, through the Ill Management of his Miniſters, *rather than any Wilful Errors of his own.*

Some of them drove ſo faſt, that it was no wonder the Wheels and Chariot broke: And it was in great part to the indiſcreet Zeal of a *Mitred Head*, that had got an Aſcendant over his Maſter's *Conſcience* and *Counſels*, that both the *Monarchy* and *Hierarchy* ow'd afterwards their Fall.

The Diviſion betwixt Archbiſhop *Abbot* and Biſhop *Laud.*

To trace this matter a little higher; there aroſe in the preceding Reign two oppoſite *Parties* in the Church, which

became now more than ever exaſperated againſt each other; the one headed by *Archbiſhop Abbot*, and the other by *Biſhop Laud*. *Abbot* was a Perſon of wonderful Temper and Moderation; and in all his Conduct ſhew'd an unwillingneſs to ſtretch the Act of *Uniformity* beyond what was abſolutely neceſſary for the Peace of the *Church*; or the *Prerogative* of the Crown, any further than conduc'd to the good of the *State*. Being not well turn'd for a Court, though otherwiſe of conſiderable Learning, and Gentile Education, he either could not, or would not ſtoop to the Humour of the Times; and now and then by an unſeaſonable Stiffneſs, gave occaſion to his Enemies to repreſent him as not well-inclin'd to the *Prerogative*, or too much addicted to a *Popular Intereſt*, and therefore not fit to be employ'd in Matters of Government. Upon the other hand, Biſhop *Laud*, as he was a Man of greater Learning, and yet greater Ambition and Natural Parts, ſo he underſtood nicely the Art of pleaſing a Court; and finding no ſurer way to raiſe himſelf to the firſt *Dignities* of the Church, than by acting a quite contrary part to that of Archbiſhop *Abbot*, he went into every thing

that

that ſeem'd to favour the *Prerogative* of the Crown, or enforce an *Abſolute Obedience* upon the Subject.

The King's urgent Neceſſities, and the backwardneſs of the Parliament to ſupply them, had forc'd him upon unwarrantable Methods of raiſing Money; and the readineſs the *Roman-Catholicks* expreſs'd to aſſiſt him in his Wants, did beget in him at firſt a Tenderneſs towards them, and afterwards a Truſt and Confidence in them; which was unhappily miſtaken by his other Subjects, as if he inclin'd to their Religion.

Among other means of raiſing Money, that of *Loan* was fallen upon; which met with great difficulties, and was generally taken to be illegal. One *Sibthorp*, an obſcure Perſon, in a Sermon preach'd at the Aſſizes at *Northampton*, would make his Court by aſſerting not only the Lawfulneſs of this way of impoſing Money by *Loan*, but that it was the indiſpenſible Duty of the Subject to comply with it. At the ſame time Dr. *Manwaring*, another Divine, preach'd two Sermons before the King at *Whitehall*, in which he advanc'd theſe Doctrines, *viz. That the King is not bound to obſerve the Laws of the Realm, concerning the Subjects*

Rights and Liberties; but that his Royal Word and Command in impoſing Loans and Taxes without Conſent of Parliament, does oblige the Subject's Conſcience, upon pain of eternal Damnation. That thoſe who refus'd to pay this Loan, did offend againſt the Law of God, and became guilty of Impiety, Diſloyalty, and Rebellion. And that the Authority of Parliaments is not neceſſary for raiſing of Aids and Subſidies.

Every body knew *Abbot* was averſe to ſuch Doctrines: And to ſeek an advantage againſt him, *Sibthorp*'s Sermon, with a Dedication to the King, was ſent him by Order of his Majeſty to Licenſe. *Abbot* refus'd, and gave his Reaſons in writing; which Biſhop *Laud* anſwer'd, and with his own hand Licens'd both *Sibthorp*'s and *Manwaring*'s Sermons. Upon this Archbiſhop *Abbot* was confin'd to his Countrey-Houſe, and ſuſpended from his Function; the Adminiſtration of which was committed to Biſhop *Laud*, and ſome others of his Recommendation.

Archbiſhop *Abbot* died in diſgrace, and was ſucceeded in the See of *Canterbury* by Biſhop *Laud*; while in the mean time things went on from bad to worſe, and haſten'd to a *Criſis*. The two firſt Parliaments

liaments King *Charles* had call'd, preſſing him hard for Redreſs of *Grievances*, and puſhing on the Reſentments begun in the preceding Reign, he was prevail'd with not only to diſſolve them, but to leave the Nation without Parliaments for Twelve Years together; and all this contrary to the Advice of ſome of the beſt and wiſeſt men about him; who foreſaw the ill conſequences that might follow, if ever any unlucky *Juncture* of Affairs ſhould neceſſitate him to call one.

The Riſe of King *Charles's* Troubles.

Such a *Juncture* fell out, and the worſt that could be; the manner thus: The *Scots* had been of a long time ſowr'd by the Encroachments they ſaid were made upon their Rights and Liberties, and particularly in the matter of *Church-Government*. Archbiſhop *Laud*'s Zeal for an *Uniformity* between the two Nations in point of *Liturgy*, prov'd the fatal Torch that put the Two Kingdoms into a flame. And it was the ſooner kindled, there being ſo much Fuel laid up for many Years, that the leaſt Spark was enough to ſet fire to the Pile.

The *Scotch* Troubles.

In the Year 1637. the *Scots* had not only in a Tumultuous manner refus'd the *Liturgy* that was ſent them from *England*, of

of Archbiſhop *Laud*'s compoſing; but had afterwards aſſum'd to themſelves the Liberty and Power of holding a *General Aſſembly* of their Church, and in it to aboliſh *Epiſcopacy*, and do ſeveral other things that were judg'd inconſiſtent with the Duty of Subjects. Upon which they were declar'd *Rebels*; and King *Charles* thought his Honour was concern'd to reduce them to Obedience by the Sword.

Inſtead of venturing to call a Parliament, to enable him to proſecute this Deſign, he was neceſſitated to levy Money another way. Great Sums were rais'd by *Loan* and *Benevolence*, to which the *Roman Catholicks* and the Clergy of *Laud*'s Faction contributed moſt. The King thus ſupplied, march'd to the *North* with a Gallant Army; and the *Scots* came as far as the *Borders* in a poſture of Defence. To prevent matters coming to extremity, the *Scots* preſented his Majeſty with their humble *Supplication* and *Remonſtrance*, ſetting forth *their inviolable Fidelity to the Crown*; *and that they deſir'd nothing more, but the peaceable enjoyment of their Religion and Liberties*; *and that all things may be determin'd and ſettled by a Free Parliament, and General Aſſembly.* At length, through the Interceſſion

ceſſion of the Moderate Party about the King, and ſome of the higheſt Rank in both Kingdoms, his Majeſty was pleas'd to comply with the deſires of the *Scots*, by a ſolemn *Pacification*, ſign'd in view of both Armies near *Berwick*, in *June* 1638.

This *Treaty* was but ſhort-liv'd, and but ill obſerv'd on either ſide. The ſame men that counſell'd the King to the firſt, puſh'd him on to a ſecond *War* againſt the *Scots*.* Parliaments had been now diſcontinu'd for ſome Years together, and there appear'd no great Inclination in the King to call any more, if this emergent occaſion had not fallen out. But his preſſing Neceſſities, and this new War, oblig'd him once more to try the Affections of his People in a Parliamentary way.

Accordingly a Parliament meets in *April*, 1640. at the opening of which the King acquainted them *with the Affronts he had receiv'd from the* Scots, *and demanded a Supply to reduce them to their Duty by force of Arms.* Both Houſes ſhow'd a Willingneſs to relieve the King's Wants, and offer'd him a conſiderable Supply; but with this Condition, *That their Grievances may be firſt redreſs'd*; which had ſwell'd up to a conſiderable

Bulk

Bulk ſince the laſt Diſſolution. Not only ſo, but the *Scots* had Friends enough in the Parliament to hinder any great matter to be done againſt them; and the greater part both of Lords and Commons were but little inclin'd to a War of Archbiſhop *Laud*'s kindling.

The King being thus diſappointed, diſſolv'd this Parliament as he had done the reſt, when they had ſcarce ſat a Month; and made what ſhifts he could to raiſe a new Army againſt the *Scots*. They upon the other hand being reſolv'd not to be behind in their Preparations, enter'd into *England* with a numerous Army, compos'd for the moſt part of *Veteran* Officers and Troops, that had ſerv'd in *Germany* under *Guſtavus Adolphus*, and taking *Berwick* and *Newcaſtle*, puſh'd their way as far as *Durham*.

King *Charles* came in Perſon to *York*, and there found himſelf inviron'd with perplexing Difficulties on all hands: The *Nobility* and *Gentry* that attended him, expreſs'd on all occaſions their diſlike of the Cauſe, and the War they were engag'd in: The *Scots* ſtood firm to their ground, being fleſh'd with Succeſs: And the King was follow'd from the *South* with Petitions from the City of *London*, from

from ſeveral Counties, and from a conſiderable Number of Lords, deſiring him *to call a Parliament, as the only effectual Means to quiet the Minds of the People, and compoſe the preſent War without Bloodſhed.*

To extricate himſelf out of this Labyrinth, King *Charles* ſummon'd the *Great Council of Peers* to meet at *York*, to conſult what was fit to be done in this Juncture; who adviſ'd him unanimouſly to enter into a Treaty with the *Scots* at *Rippon*, and to ſummon a Parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter*; with both which Advices the King comply'd, and immediately iſſu'd out Writs for a Parliament to ſit down in *November*, 1640. and adjourn'd the Treaty with the *Scots* to *London*.

No Age ever produc'd Greater Men than thoſe that ſat in this Parliament: They had ſufficient Abilities and Inclinations to have render'd the King and their Countrey happy, if *England* had not been through a Chain of concurring Accidents ripen'd for deſtruction.

At their ſitting down, a Scene of *Grievances* under which the Nation had long groan'd, was laid open, and all Topicks made uſe of to paint them out in livelieſt Colours. The Parliament, 1641.

Colours. The many Cruelties and Illegal Practices of the *Star-Chamber*, and *High-Comiſſion-Court*, that had alienated Peoples Minds from the *Hierarchy*, were now inſiſted on to throw down thoſe two *Arbitrary Tribunals*, and with them in ſome time after, the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers, and at length Epiſcopacy it ſelf out of the Church. It was not a few of either Houſe, but indeed all the Great *Patriots*, that concurr'd at firſt to make Enquiry into the *Grievances* of this Reign. Sir *Edward Hyde*, afterwards Earl of *Clarendon*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*; the Lord *Digby*; the Lord *Falkland*; the Lord *Capell*; Mr. *Grimſtone*, who was choſen afterwards Speaker of the Houſe of Commons that brought in King *Charles* the Second, and was Maſter of the Rolls; Mr. *Hollis*, ſince Lord *Hollis*; all which ſuffer'd afterwards on the King's ſide; and, in general, moſt of thoſe that took the King's part in the ſucceeding War, were the Men that appear'd with the greateſt Zeal for the Redreſs of Grievances, and made the ſharpeſt Speeches upon thoſe Subjects. The Intentions of thoſe Gentlemen were certainly Noble and Juſt, and tended to the equal advantage of King and People:

But

But the Fate of *England* urg'd on its own Ruin ſtep by ſtep, till an open Rupture between the King and Parliament made the Gap too wide ever to be made up again.

Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, Earl of *Strafford*, and Dr. *Laud*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, had too great a ſhare in the Miniſtry, to eſcape being Cenſur'd; and they were the firſt that felt the effects of a Popular Hatred. Theſe two Gentlemen, and *James Duke of Hamilton*, firſt advis'd King *Charles* to call this Parliament; and all Three fell by it, though not at the ſame time.

The Fall and Character of the Earl of *Strafford*.

The Earl of *Strafford* was a Gentleman of extraordinary Parts, a great Orator, and yet a greater Stateſman: He made a conſiderable Figure in the firſt Three Parliaments of King *Charles*; and no man appear'd with greater Zeal againſt *Shipmoney*, *Tunnage and Poundage*, and other Taxes illegally impos'd upon the Subject. The Court bought him off, and preferr'd him to great *Honours* and *Places*, which loſt him his former Friends, and made the Breach irreconcilable. There had been a long and intimate Friendſhip betwixt Mr. *Pym* and him, and they had gone hand in hand in every thing in the Houſe

Houſe of Commons. But when Sir *Thomas Wentworth* was upon making his Peace with the Court, he ſent to *Pym* to meet him alone at *Greenwich*; where he began in a ſet Speech to ſound Mr. *Pym* about the Dangers they were like to run by the Courſes they were in; and what Advantages they might have, if they would but liſten to ſome Offers would probably be made them from the Court. *Pym* underſtanding his drift, ſtopt him ſhort with this expreſſion, *You need not uſe all this Art to tell me that you have a mind to leave us: But remember what I tell you, You are going to be undone. But remember, That though you leave us now, I will never leave you while your Head is upon your Shoulders.* He was as good as his word, for it was *Pym* that firſt accus'd him of High Treaſon in the Houſe of Commons, he carried up his Impeachment to the Houſe of Lords, and was the chief Manager of his Tryal, and *Bill of Attainder*.

There never was a more ſolemn *Trial* than that of the Earl of *Strafford*, whether we conſider the *Accuſers*, or the *Perſon accus'd*; the *Accuſation*, or the *Defence*. As in every thing elſe, ſo in this more particularly, he expreſs'd a wonderful Preſence

Preſence of Mind, and a vaſt Compaſs of Thought, with ſuch nervous and moving Flights of Eloquence, as came nothing ſhort of the moſt celebrated *Pieces* of Antiquity. This did manifeſtly appear from his ſumming up the long Anſwer he made *ex tempore* to every one of the Articles againſt him, with this Pathetick Concluſion: *My Lords*, ſaid he, *I have troubled you longer than I ſhould have done, were it not for the Intereſt of theſe dear Pledges a Saint in Heaven hath left me.* At this word he ſtopt, pointing to his Children, that ſtood by him, and dropt ſome Tears; then went on, *What I forfeit for my ſelf is nothing; but that my Indiſcretion ſhould extend to my Poſterity, woundeth me to the very Soul. You will pardon my Infirmity; ſomething I ſhould have added, but am not able; therefore let it paſs. And now, my Lords, for my ſelf, I have been by the Bleſſing of God, taught, That the Afflictions of this preſent Life are not to be compar'd to that Eternal Weight of Glory which ſhall be reveal'd hereafter. And ſo, my Lords, even ſo, with all Tranquility of Mind, I freely ſubmit my ſelf to your Judgment: And whether that Judgment be of Life or Death,* Te Deum laudamus.

It's believ'd that King *Charles*'s appearing ſo heartily for him, did him no good with the Houſe of Commons: And it's confidently ſaid, that he wrote his Majeſty a *Letter* from the *Tower*, praying him not to intercede in his Affair; and *that his not ſeeming to be concern'd in it, would be the beſt Method to calm the Rage of his Enemies.* But notwithſtanding this Caution, the King came to the Houſe of Lords, and ſending for the Houſe of Commons, made a warm Speech in favour of the Earl; which ſome of his Friends took for ſo good News, that they went ſtraight from *Weſtminſter* to give him an account of it: *Strafford* receiv'd it as his *Doom*, and told them, *The King's Kindneſs had ruin'd him; and that he had little elſe now to do, but to prepare himſelf for Death.*

As King *Charles* was miſtaken in his Interceſſion for the Earl of *Strafford*, ſo was the Earl himſelf much more, in neglecting the Advice of his Friends againſt his coming up to this Parliament. It was eaſy to foreſee there was ſomething deſign'd to his Prejudice; and he had fair Warning given him not to come up at that time; at leaſt, till he ſaw how matters would go. He had two plauſible Pre-

Pretences for his Abſence, if he had pleas'd to make uſe of them; the neceſſity of his Preſence in *Ireland*, where he was Lord Lieutenant; or in the *North of England*, where he was Lieutenant-General of the Army that had been rais'd againſt the *Scots*. But being too confident, not only of the King's Favour, and his Intereſt among the Lords, but of the good effects an *Humble Honey Speech* might have with the Houſe of Commons (to uſe his own words), he came late at Night to Town, and took his place next Morning in the Houſe of Lords, with an Intention to ask leave that very day to go down to the Houſe of Commons to clear himſelf of the Miſrepreſentations he lay under.

Mr. *Pym* hearing he was come, mov'd to have the Doors lock'd, and the Keys laid upon the Table, leſt any Member ſhould give Intelligence of what they were upon: Which being done, he accus'd the Earl of *Strafford* of *High-Treaſon*; and an *Impeachment* was immediately drawn up, and agreed to by the Houſe. In the mean time, it fell out unluckily for the Earl of *Strafford*, that at his coming into the Houſe of Lords, they were upon a Debate that took them up a

conſiderable time; and while he was waiting till that was over, the Commons came up with their *Impeachment*.

As the Earl was ſtrangely unfortunate in moſt things that befel him in the latter Period of his Life, he was no leſs in the very Opinion of the King himſelf, and thoſe others that did all they could to ſave his Life. For the King in the Speech he made to both Houſes in his favour, was pleas'd to ſay, *That he did not think my Lord* Strafford *fit hereafter to ſerve him or the Commonwealth in any Place of Truſt, no, not ſo much as that of a Conſtable.* And the Lord *Digby*, in the Speech he made in the Houſe of Commons againſt the Bill of Attainder, for which among other things he was forc'd to fly, treats the Earl in yet much harſher Terms: *The Name of the Earl of* Strafford (ſays he) *is a Name of Hatred in the preſent Age by his Practices, and fit to be made a Terror to future Ages by his Puniſhment. I am ſtill the ſame in my Opinions and Affections as to the Earl of* Strafford (continues he after); *I believe him to be the moſt dangerous Miniſter, the moſt inſupportable to free Subjects, that can be character'd. I believe his Practices in themſelves as high, as Tyranical, as any Subject ever*

ever ventur'd upon; and the Malignity of them highly aggravated by thoſe rare Qualities of his, whereof God has given him the Uſe, but the Devil the Application. In a word (adds the Lord *Digby*) *I believe him ſtill that Grand Apoſtate to the Commonwealth, who muſt not expect to be pardon'd in this World, till he be diſpatch'd into the other. And yet let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, my Hand muſt not be at that Diſpatch.* Thus far a Nobleman that was entirely in the King's Intereſt; and for his Zeal to the Royal Cauſe became the moſt obnoxious to the Parliament.

After all, there ſeems to have been ſome Miſtake about the main *Article* in his Accuſation, of his *adviſing the King to bring over the Army from* Ireland *to reduce* England; which contributed more to the undoing of this Miniſter, than all the reſt: For the Proof of this Article being only Words contain'd in Mr. Secretary *Vane's Notes*, (which are plac'd in the *Appendix*) and ſaid to be ſpoke at the *Council-Table*, they do naturally refer to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and not to *England*; the thing then under Debate, being how to reduce *Scotland*. And though Secretary *Vane* ſwore to the Truth of his *Notes*, yet it was after

Appendix, Numb. 6.

ſuch a manner as left the matter ſtill more dubious: And though he had ſworn more poſitively, it was but the Teſtimony of One Witneſs, and that contradicted by Four Lords, who were then preſent in Council, and who declar'd upon their Honours, *That they did not remember they heard the Earl of* Strafford *ſpeak thoſe Words.*

I cannot leave the Earl of *Strafford*, without taking notice of a ſilly Miſtake that has gain'd ſome Credit in the World, as if the *Bill of Attainder* againſt him was of ſo extraordinary a nature, and ſo much out of all the known Methods of Juſtice, that the Legiſlators themſelves were oblig'd to inſert a Clauſe into the Body of it, *That it ſhould never be drawn into Preſident.* Whereas that Clauſe does expreſly relate only to Judges in Inferior Courts; and is conceiv'd in the following words: *Provided, That no Judge or Judges, Juſtice or Juſtices whatſoever, ſhall adjudge or interpret any Act or Thing to be Treaſon, nor hear or determine any Treaſon, in any other manner than he or they ſhould or ought to have done, before the making of this Act.*

As Archbiſhop *Laud* was nothing inferior to the Earl of *Strafford* in Parts, and

and much his Superior in Learning; ſo it is as hard to determine which of the two made a Nobler Defence at their Trial. The Fate of the former has been the ſame with that of moſt Great Men, to be repreſented to Poſterity in *Extremes*; for we have nothing writ of him, but what's either *Panegyrick*, or *Satyr*, rather than Hiſtory.

The Fall and Character of Archbiſhop *Laud*.

That Archbiſhop *Laud* was brought to his Trial, and found Guilty during the Heat of a Civil War, and when all things were tending to Confuſion, was nothing ſtrange: Nor was Serjeant *Wild*'s Introduction at the opening of his Charge, any thing but what might have been expected at ſuch a time, when he told the Lords, That *it might be ſaid of the Great Cauſe of the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *as it was in a like Caſe, Repertum eſt hodierno die facinus, quod nec Poeta fingere, nec Hiſtrio ſonare, nec Mimus imitari potuerit.* But it was indeed ſtrange, and none of the leaſt of this Great Man's Misfortunes, That Three Years before, he ſhould be declar'd by the Houſe of Commons a Traytor, *Nemine contradicente* at a time when there was not the leaſt Miſunderſtanding betwixt the King and Parliament, being within the firſt Month after

they ſat down: And which was yet ſtranger, That no body was more ſevere upon him, than ſome of thoſe that afterwards took the King's Part againſt the Parliament, and were at laſt the chief Inſtruments of his Son's Reſtoration. Whoever reads Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*'s Speech upon voting his Impeachment, or *Pym*'s upon carrying it up to the Lords, will be apt to think, *That ſcarce any Age has produc'd a Man, whoſe Actions and Conduct have been more obnoxious to Obloquy, or given greater occaſion for it.*

There was one Thread that run through his whole Accuſation, and upon which moſt of the Articles of his Impeachment turn'd; and that was, *his Inclination to Popery, and his deſign to introduce the* Romiſh *Religion:* Of which his Immortal *Book* againſt *Fiſher*, and his Declaration at his Death, do ſufficiently acquit him. And yet, not Proteſtants only, but even *Roman-Catholicks* themſelves were led into this Miſtake; otherwiſe they would not have dar'd to offer one in his Poſt a *Cardinal's Cap*, as he confeſſes in his *Diary* they did twice. The Introduction of a great many *Pompous Ceremonies* into the Church, the *Licenſing* ſome Books that ſpoke favourably of the

the Church of *Rome*, and the refuſing to *Licenſe* others that were writ againſt it, were the principal Cauſes of his being thus miſrepreſented: And indeed his Behaviour in ſome of theſe matters, as likewiſe in the *Star-Chamber*, and *High-Commiſſion-Court*, can hardly be accounted for; and particularly his *Theatrical* manner of Conſecrating a New Church in *London*; related at length in the *Appendix*. *Appendix*, Numb. 7.

He was certainly, in ſpite of Malice, a Man of an elevated Capacity, and vaſt Deſigns; a great Encourager of Learning, and Learned Men; and ſpar'd no Pains nor Coſt to enrich *England* with ſuch a Noble Collection of Books and *Manuſcripts* in moſt Languages, as look'd rather like the Bounty of a King, than of a Subject. As he left behind him many laſting Monuments of his Beneficence to the Learned World, ſo was he in a way to have carry'd it much further, if his Misfortunes had not interven'd, and depriv'd Learning of ſo powerful a Benefactor.

But after all; as there is ſeldom found a Mind ſo Great but has ſome Allay, ſo it ſeems Archbiſhop *Laud*, notwithſtanding his excellent Endowments, was not

Proof

Proof againſt either the *Impreſſion of Dreams*, or *Revenge of Perſonal Affronts*, though never ſo trivial in themſelves, nor the Perſon never ſo mean: Of the one, witneſs his taking ſo particular notice in his *Diary* of ſeveral of his *Dreams*; and of the other, his carrying his Reſentments ſo far againſt *Archie the King's Fool*, for a mere *Jeſt*, that he had him turn'd out of Court by an Order of *Council*: Which being ſo unaccountable a piece of Weakneſs in ſo great a Man, and done at a full Board, the King and the Archbiſhop preſent; the Order is plac'd in the *Appendix*, for a remarkable Inſtance *how far the Greateſt of Men may at ſome times be left without a Guard againſt Paſſion*.

Appendix, Numb. 8.

To return to King *Charles*, he did every thing that was poſſible, to give ſatisfaction to the Parliament, or could be reaſonably expected from a Gracious and Beneficent Prince. He paſs'd the *Bill for Attainting the Earl of Strafford*, though with reluctancy, as believing he deſerv'd not ſuch hard meaſure: He took away *Monopolies*, that had been a great Diſcouragement to Trade: He expreſs'd himſelf to their Contentment in the matters of *Loan*, *Ship-money*, *Tunnage and Poundage*,

dage, and other unwarrantable Methods that had been us'd in raiſing Money; and ſhow'd a ſettled Reſolution to comply with them in every thing that might tend to the Eaſe and Security of the Subject. As in the preceding Parliament he had paſt the *Petition of Right*, ſo in the beginning of this he had agreed to the Acts for *Triennial Parliaments*, and for *aboliſhing the Star-Chamber and High Commiſſion Courts*, which had been great *Grievances*; and with Chearfulneſs paſs'd that Act which ſeem'd inconſiſtent with his own juſt Prerogative, That *that Parliament ſhould not be diſſolv'd, but by Act of Parliament; nor prorogu'd or adjourn'd, but by their own Conſent.*

The King having upon theſe Conceſſions receiv'd the Publick Thanks of Both *Houſes*, and the loud Applauſes of his People, took a Journey for *Scotland* in *Auguſt*, 1641. to ſettle matters there, that requir'd his Preſence; leaving the Parliament ſitting, which they continued to do for ſome time, and then adjourn'd themſelves to *October* following. At the King's going away, Affairs had been already ſettled betwixt the two Kingdoms by an *Act of Pacification*, and both Armies order'd to be disbanded, the

the *Scots* returning home for that purpose.

The *Iriſh* Rebellion.

While the King was in *Scotland*, the *Iriſh Rebellion* broke out, which became a new Bone of Contention between the King and the Parliaments of both Nations. He took what Meaſures were poſſible in *Scotland* about ſuppreſſing that Rebellion, and made what haſte he could back to *England* to concert with the Parliament there, what was further to be done towards it; leaving the *Scots*, as he ſaid himſelf, *a contented People*, and every thing ſettled to their mind both in Church and State.

He return'd to *London* the latter end of *November*, and was receiv'd with all demonſtrations of Affection. The *Lord-Mayor* and Aldermen, the Nobility, Gentry, and Train'd-Bands met him without the City, and conducted him in great State, with the Acclamations of the People (the City-Companies in their Formalities lining the Streets on each ſide) to *Guildhall*, where he was Royally Feaſted, and after Dinner conducted with the ſame Pomp to *Whitehall*.

What man that had ſeen a Prince thus receiv'd into his *Capital City*, could have imagin'd, that within leſs than Seven Weeks

Weeks he ſhould be oblig'd to leave it upon the account of *Tumults*, never to ſee it again, but as a Priſoner brought thither to dye upon a Scaffold? Yet this was King *Charles*'s hard Fortune: And it's here I would willingly draw a Veil over the remaining part of his Reign, that ended in one of the moſt diſmal Tragedies that ever was acted upon the *Engliſh* Stage. His Virtues and Morals deſerv'd a better Fate, and he ſuffer'd for the Faults of others, rather than Errors of his own.

The Houſe of Commons had begun ſome few days before his Return, to fall into new Heats about *Innovations in Religion*; *the Rebellion in* Ireland; *Plots ſaid to be laid in* Scotland; *the diſabling the Clergy to exerciſe Temporal Juriſdiction*; *and excluding the Biſhops from Votes in Parliament:* All which matters, together with Reports that were buzz'd about of ſome Deſigns againſt the Parliament, led the Houſe into that Remarkable *Petition and Remonſtrance of the State of the Nation*; in which they ript up again all the Miſmanagements in the Government ſince the King's coming to the Crown; and attributed all to *Evil Counſels and Counſellors, and a Malignant Party about the*

The Petition and Remonſtrance of the H of Commons to King *Charles.*

the King. This *Remonſtrance* was roughly penn'd, both for Matter and Expreſſion, and met with great Oppoſition in the Houſe; the Debate laſting from Three a Clock in the Afternoon till Ten a Clock next Morning; and was preſented to his Majeſty the Eighth Day after his Return from *Scotland.*

It was no wonder King *Charles* was ſurpriz'd at this *Petition and Remonſtrance*, conſidering how much he had done to comply with his Parliament in all they deſired. And ſince from theſe two *Papers*, and from the King's *Anſwer* to it at its delivery, and the *Declaration* he publiſh'd more at large afterwards to the ſame purpoſe, the Reader will be better enabled to make a Judgment of the Cauſe and Arguments on both Sides for the Civil War that enſued, I have plac'd all the Four in the *Appendix:* The Length of them may be more eaſily pardon'd, ſince upon the Matters contain'd in them, the whole almoſt of all the Differences that came to be decided by the Sword, happen'd to turn.

Appendix, Numb. 9.

K. *Charles's* coming to the H. of Commons to demand the Five Members.

Things were now going faſt on towards leſſening the *Confidence* betwixt the King and Parliament: And yet there were not wanting Endeavours on both Sides

Sides to accommodate Matters by ſoft and healing Methods, when the King's coming to the Houſe of *Commons* in Perſon to demand *Five of their Members*, whom he had order'd the day before to be impeach'd of High-Treaſon, did put all into a *Combuſtion*, and gave occaſion to the Houſe to aſſert their Privileges with a greater Warmth than ever. This was the moſt unlucky Step King *Charles* could have made at that Juncture: And the Indiſcretion of ſome that attended the King to the *Lobby* of the Houſe, was inſiſted upon as an Argument that the King was reſolv'd *to uſe Violence upon the Parliament*, which it's to be preſum'd was a thing far from his thoughts. The *Five Members* had hardly time to make their Eſcape juſt when the King was entring; and upon his going away, the Houſe adjourn'd in a Flame for ſome days, ordering a Committee to ſit in *Guildhall* in the mean time, as if they were not ſafe at *Weſtminſter*.

Whoever they were that adviſ'd the King to this raſh Attempt, are juſtly chargeable with all the Blood that was afterwards ſpilt; for this ſudden Action was the firſt and viſible Ground of all our following Miſeries. It was believ'd,

That

That if the King had found the *Five Members* in the Houſe, and had call'd in his Guards to ſeize them, the Houſe would have endeavour'd their defence, and oppos'd *Force to Force*; which might have endanger'd the King's Perſon. But the Conſequences were bad enough without this; for immediately upon it there was nothing but Confuſion and Tumults, *Fears and Jealouſies* every where, which ſpread themſelves to *Whitehall* in the rudeſt manner; ſo that his Majeſty thinking himſelf not ſafe there, he retir'd with his Family to *Hampton Court.*

The King leaving the Parliament in this manner, there were ſcarce any hopes of a *thorough Reconciliation.* But when after a great many Removes from place to place, his Majeſty came to ſet up his *Standard* at *Nottingham*, there enſued a *Fatal and Bloody War*; which it's reaſonable to believe was never deſign'd at firſt by either Side.

The Beginning of the Civil Wars.

Each Party blam'd the other for beginning this War; and it's not eaſy to determine which of them began it. Though the King made the firſt Steps that ſeem'd to tend that way; ſuch as *raiſing a Troop for a Guard to his Perſon*; *ſummoning*

ſummoning the Gentlemen and Freeholders of ſeveral Counties to attend him in his Progreſs to the North, *and ordering Arms and Ammunition to be bought in* Holland *for his uſe:* Yet the Parliament did as much at the ſame time; for they likewiſe *rais'd Guards of their own, and took care that the Magazine of* Hull *ſhould not fall into the King's hands.* So that the King and Parliament prepar'd themſelves inſenſibly for War, without conſidering that theſe Preparations muſt gradually and inevitably come to Blows in the end. The King's ſetting up his *Standard* at *Nottingham* was not the firſt publick Notice of this War, as has been commonly reported by Hiſtorians that ſhould have known better; for that was not done till *Auguſt* 22. 1642. and yet the Houſe of Commons paſt theſe Two Votes the 12*th* of *July* before; 1. *That an Army ſhould be forthwith rais'd for the Safety of the King's Perſon, Defence of both Houſes of Parliament, and of thoſe who have obey'd their Orders and Commands; and preſerving of the true Religion, Laws, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdom.* And 2. That *the Earl of* Eſſex *ſhould be General, and the Earl of* Bedford *General of the Horſe.* To which Votes the Houſe of Lords agreed.

Whoever begun the War, it was carried on in the beginning with equal Succeſs, and it was hard to determite which Side had the better: Till in the Sequel, the Loſs of *Eſſex*'s Army in the *Weſt*, and other diſadvantages, brought the Parliaments Affairs to a low Ebb, and ſeem'd to promiſe the King an entire Maſtery. To retrieve their ſinking Fortune, the Parliament was oblig'd to call in the *Scots* to their Aſſiſtance; which ſo far turn'd the *Scale*, that the King loſt ground every day after: And the Defeat of his Army at the Battels of *Marſton-Moor*, and *Naſeby*, put him out of capacity to keep the Field, and broke entirely all his Meaſures.

During the whole Courſe of this *Unnatural War*, it was hard to divine what would be the Fate of *England*; whether an *Abſolute Unlimited Monarchy*; a new huddled-up *Commonwealth*; or a downright *Anarchy*. If the King ſhould prevail, the firſt was to be fear'd, conſidering that the many Indignities put upon him, might imbitter him againſt the Parliament: If the Parliament ſhould prevail, the ſecond was to be apprehended: And if the Army ſhould ſet up for themſelves, as afterwards they did, the laſt was

was inevitably to follow. All which ſome of the beſt men about the King wiſely foreſaw, and trembled at the Event of every Battel that was fought, whoever happen'd to be Victors. It was the dread of theſe Misfortunes that hinder'd the *Lords* and *Commons* whom the King call'd to *Oxford*, to aſſume to themſelves the Name of *The Parliament of England*, and from declaring thoſe met at *Weſtminſter*, *Rebels*; though the King again and again importun'd them to it, and took their Refuſal ſo ill, that in one of his *Letters* to the Queen, intercepted at *Naſeby*, he reflects heavily upon them for it, and calls them in deriſion *his Mungrel Parliament*. It was likewiſe the diſmal Proſpect he had of this War, even in the beginning of it, that mov'd that Accompliſh'd Gentleman the *Lord Falkland* to throw away his Life, rather than be a witneſs of the Miſeries were coming upon the Nation. For though he was *Secretary of State* to the King, and follow'd his Fortune; yet ſeeing all his Endeavours for promoting a Peace were in vain, he went on with a Party to skirmiſh with the Enemy, the day before the firſt Battel of *Newbury*; and being diſſuaded by his Friends, as having no Call to

it, being no Military Perſon, he ſaid, *He was weary of the Times, and foreſaw much Miſery to his Country, and hop'd he ſhould be out of it e're night.* So puſhing into the Battel, he was ſlain.

Endeavours that were us'd for an Accommodation.

Many Endeavours were us'd from time to time to bring Matters to an Accommodation by way of *Treaty*; but ſtill ſome one unlucky Accident or another render'd them all abortive. At the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, though the Parliament's *Demands* were high, and the King ſhow'd a more than ordinary Averſion to comply with them; yet the ill poſture of the King's Affairs at that time, and the fatal Conſequences they fear'd would follow upon breaking off of the Treaty, oblig'd a great many of the King's Friends, and more particularly that Noble Perſon the Earl of *Southampton*, who had gone Poſt from *Uxbrige* to *Oxford* for that purpoſe, to preſs the King again and again upon their Knees, to yield to the neceſſity of the Times; and by giving his *Aſſent* to ſome of the moſt material *Propoſitions* that were ſent him, to ſettle a laſting Peace with his People. The King was at laſt prevail'd with to follow their Counſel; and the next Morning was appointed for ſigning a *Warrant* to his Commiſſioners

ſioners to that effect. And ſo ſure were they of a happy end of all differences, that the King at Supper complaining his Wine was not good, one told him merrily, *He hop'd that his Majeſty would d ink better before a Week was over, at* Guildhall *with the* Lord Mayor. But ſo it was, that when they came early next morning to wait upon him with the *Warrant* that had been agreed upon over Night, they found his Majeſty had chang'd his Reſolution, and was become inflexible in theſe Points.

The unhappy Occaſion of this Alteration has lain hitherto a *Secret* in Hiſtory, and might have continued ſuch ſtill, if a Letter from the *Marqueſs of Montroſs* in *Scotland*, whereof I have ſeen a Copy under the Duke of *Richmond*'s Hand, did not give a ſufficient Light into it. To make the Matter better underſtood, it's neceſſary to ſay ſomething of *Montroſs* and his Actions in *Scotland*. This Nobleman had been at firſt very active and zealous for the Liberties of his Countrey; and was the firſt man that paſt the River *Tweed* at the Head of Five hundred Horſe, upon the *Scots Firſt Expedition* into *England*. But being afterwards diſoblig'd, or as ſome ſay, repenting of his former

Montroſs's Fatal Letter.

Error, he left that Side, and came in to the King at the breaking out of the War between Him and the Parliament. When the *Scots* came into *England* the ſecond time to aſſiſt the Parliament, *Montroſs* apply'd himſelf to the King for a *Commiſſion* to levy War againſt his Rebel Subjects, as they were call'd, of *Scotland*; aſſuring his Majeſty, he was able with the Aſſiſtance of his Friends, and Concurrence of the reſt of the Royal Party, to make at leaſt a very conſiderable Diverſion, if not to reduce the whole Countrey to his Majeſty's Obedience. Accordingly the *Marqueſs* was made *Governor of Scotland*; where in the ſpace of five Months, with a handful of raw undiſciplin'd Men, and thoſe not half arm'd, he did over-run a great part of the Countrey, and gain'd three very conſiderable *Battels*; the laſt of which was that of *Inverlochy*, fought the ſecond of *February*, 1644. according to the *Engliſh*, and 1645. according to the *Scotch* Account. In this Battel the Earl of *Argyle* was entirely defeated, and the Prime of the Noble Family of the *Campbells* cut off, with inconſiderable Loſs on *Montroſs*'s ſide; who next day diſpatch'd an Expreſs to the King with the News of this and his

two

two former *Victories*: And in his Letter expreſs'd his *utter Averſion to all Treaties with his Rebel-Parliament in* England, as he calls them: Tells the King, *he is heartily ſorry to hear that his Majeſty had conſented to Treat; and hopes it is not true*: Adviſes him *not to enter into Terms with his Rebellious Subjects, as being a thing unworthy of a King*: And aſſures him, That he himſelf was now ſo much Maſter of Scotland, *that he doubted not but to be able within a few Months to march into* England *to his Majeſty's aſſiſtance, with a brave Army.* And concludes with this odd Expreſſion, *When I have conquer'd from* Dan *to* Beerſheba, *as I doubt not I ſhall very quickly, I hope I may have then leave to ſay as* David's *General ſaid to his Maſter, Come thou, leſt this Countrey be call'd by my Name.*

This Letter, writ with ſuch an Air of Aſſurance, and by a Perſon that was thought capable to make good his Promiſes; and the Matter contain'd in it, ſuiting but too well with the King's Inclinations, was unluckily deliver'd to the King but a few Hours before he was to have ſign'd the *Warrant* before-mention'd; and had as ill effects as the worſt of King *Charles*'s Enemies could have wiſh'd; for

it daſh'd out in a moment all the Impreſſions his beſt Friends had been making upon him for a conſiderable time, towards a full *Settlement* with his People.

It look'd as if there was ſome *ſecret Fatality* in this whole matter; for it could hardly have been imagin'd, that a Letter writ the Third of *February*, in the furthermoſt *North* Corner of *Britain*, ſhould come ſo ſoon to *Oxford*, conſidering the length of the Journey, the badneſs of the Roads at that time of the Year, eſpecially through the Mountainous parts of *Scotland*, together with the Parliament's and *Scotch* Armies and Garriſons that were poſted all along the Road: And yet certain it is, it came through all theſe Dangers and Inconveniences in very few days; for it's indors'd upon the Copy I have ſeen, *That it was deliver'd to the King during the Treaty of Uxbridge*; which every body knows began the 30*th* of *January*, and ended the 22*d* of *February*: And further, it muſt have been deliver'd before the 19*th* of *February*, becauſe King *Charles* takes notice of it in a Letter to the Queen, of that Date, found among others at *Naſeby*; where he ſays, *Though I leave News to others*,

others, yet I cannot but tell thee, That even now I have received certain Intelligence of a great Defeat given by Montrosse *to* Argyle, *who upon ſurprize totally routed thoſe Rebels, and kill'd Fifteen hundred upon the place.* And it's remarkable, That in the ſame Letter to the Queen, immediately after the mentioning *Montroſs*'s Victory, the King adds, *That as for truſting the Rebels, either by going to* London, *or diſbanding my Army before a Peace, do no ways fear my hazarding ſo cheaply or ſo liſhly; for I eſteem the Intereſt thou haſt in me at a far dearer rate; and pretend to have a little more Wit (at leaſt, by the Sympathy that's betwixt us) than to put my ſelf into the Reverence of Perfidious Rebels.* Which Words being compar'd with *Montroſs*'s *Letter*, it will be found the one is a Commentary upon the other.

I have plac'd *Montroſs*'s Letter it ſelf in the *Appendix*; and cannot leave it, without making this Obſervation, That *conſidering the time it was writ, the Critical Minute it was deliver'd, with the ſad Conſequences that attended it*; it makes this Axiom true, *That oftentimes the Fate of Princes and States is chiefly owing to very minute and unforeſeen Accidents.*

Appendix, Numb. 10.

The

The *Treaty* of *Uxbridge* being thus broke off, the War was renew'd with greater Fury than ever; till at laſt the Parliament's Army having beaten the King out of the Field, came to kick their *Maſters* out of the *Houſe*; and having modell'd the Parliament and Army to their own minds, did ſet up for themſelves, and at one Blow *compleated* the Ruin of their Countrey *in the Murther of King* Charles I. *and the Extirpation of Monarchy*. In ſhort, a continued Series of Misfortunes attended the Royal Cauſe; and ſeveral favourable Accidents that ſeem'd from time to time to promiſe better Events, did concur in the end to the King's undoing: Till at laſt, that Unhappy Prince, in being brought before a Tribunal of his own Subjects, and ſubmitting his Neck to the Stroke of a *Common Executioner*, taught the World an aſtoniſhing Example of the *Inſtability of Human Greatneſs*; and in that and the reſt of his Sufferings, a *laſting Patern of Chriſtian Magnanimity and Patience*.

The Character of King *Charles* I.

The Character of King *Charles* I. may be taken in a great part from what has been already ſaid; and I ſhall only add a few things more. He was a Prince of

of a *Comely Preſence*, of a *Sweet*, *Grave*, but *Melancholy Aſpect*. His Face was Regular, Handſome, and well-complexion'd; his Body Strong, Healthy, and well-made; and though of a low Stature, was capable to endure the greateſt Fatigues. His Face, contrary to that of his Son's *Charles* II. was eaſily taken, either in *Painting* or *Sculpture*; and ſcarce any one, though never ſo indifferently skill'd in their Art, fail'd to hit it. He had ſomething in the Lines and Features which Phyſiognomiſts account unfortunate: And it's commonly reported, that his Picture being ſent to *Rome* to have a *Buſto* done by it; a famous Statuary not knowing whoſe it was, told the Gentleman that brought it, *He was ſorry if it was the Face of any Relation of his*; *for it was one of the moſt Unfortunate he ever ſaw*; *and according to all the Rules of Art*, *the Perſon whoſe it was*, *muſt dye a violent Death*. In his Temper he was *Brave*, *Magnificent*, *Liberal*, and *Conſtant*; but more affable to Strangers than his own Subjects. It was his Noble and Generous Behaviour that took ſo much with the King of *Spain*, when he went thither to court the *Infanta*, that he rejected the repeated Solicitations of his *Council*

Council to ſeize him; and paid him more Reſpect than could have been well expected, if he had been King of *England* at that time. Of his Compoſure of Mind in time of greateſt danger, he gave a Noble Inſtance in his Behaviour in that great *Storm* in the Road of St. *Andrees*, which was worthy the Ancient Philoſophers: Nor did he fall ſhort of the Braveſt in *Perſonal Courage*; having expos'd his Perſon in every *Battel* he was in, and oftentimes charging at the Head of his *Squadrons*.

He had a good Taſte of Learning, and a more than ordinary Skill in the *Liberal Arts*, eſpecially *Painting*, *Sculpture*, *Architecture*, and *Medals*; and being a Generous Benefactor to the moſt Celebrated *Maſters* in thoſe Arts, he acquir'd the Nobleſt *Collection* of any Prince in his time, and more than all the Kings of *England* had done before him. It's ſaid, notwithſtanding his Natural Generoſity, That he beſtow'd Favours with a worſe Grace than his Son King *Charles* the Second denied them; and many times obliterated the ſenſe of the Obligation by the manner of it: But indeed he had ſeldom much to give, being kept ſhort of Money a great part of his Reign. The Eſſentials

Eſſentials of *Divinity* he was as much Maſter of, as ever his Father had been, but without the Allay of *Pedantry*: Of this among other things, the Papers that paſt betwixt him and Mr. *Henderſon* at *Newcaſtle*, will be a laſting Monument. He was a great *Patron* of the *Clergy*; but his employing them in the higheſt Offices of Truſt in *State Matters*, created Envy againſt them, and leſſen'd the Love of the Nobility towards him. Yet ſuch was the Honeſty and Integrity of one of them in the greateſt and moſt obnoxious *Poſt* in the Kingdom, that when ſome Years after he had reſign'd the Treaſurer's Staff, and when the Parliament wanted not Will to cruſh him, *they could not find upon the narroweſt Scrutiny, any one thing to object either againſt his Accounts, or his Behaviour in that Place.*

King *Charles* was a paſſionate Lover of his *Queen*, who was a Beautiful Lady, and in all things very well accompliſh'd; inſomuch that his Friends regretted the Aſcendant ſhe had over him on ſome occaſions, while others tax'd him with the Character of an Uxorious Husband. He was fond of his Children, and kind to his Servants; though theſe laſt felt ſometimes the haſty Sallies of his Paſſion. He was not

not miſtaken of himſelf, when he ſaid before the High-Court of Juſtice, *That he underſtood as much Law as any private Gentleman in England:* And pity it was that any of his Miniſters ſhould have adviſ'd him to make Breaches in what he ſo well underſtood.

He ſpoke ſeveral Languages very well, and with a ſingular good Grace; though now and then, when he was warm in Diſcourſe, he was inclinable to *ſtammer*. He writ a tolerable Hand for a King, but his Senſe was ſtrong, and his Stile *Laconick*; and yet he ſeldom wrote in any Language but *Engliſh*. Some of his *Manifeſtoes*, *Declarations*, and other Publick Papers he drew himſelf, and moſt of them he Corrected. In comparing thoſe of the King's with the Parliament's, one will be eaſily inclin'd to prefer, for the moſt part, the King's, for the Strength of Reaſoning, and the Force of Expreſſion. I have ſeen ſeveral Pieces of his own Hand, and therefore may the better affirm, That both for Matter and Form, they ſurpaſs thoſe of his Ableſt Miniſters, and come nothing ſhort of *Strafford* or *Falkland*, the Two moſt Celebrated Pens of that time.

As

As to his Religion, he was Proteſtant, and in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, of the Church of *England*, and for the Divine Right of Epiſcopacy. But his conſenting perſonally to the total Abolition of that Order in *Scotland*, does not well agree with this part of his Character; eſpecially conſidering his repeated Proteſtations at the Treaties of *Uxbridge* and *Newport*, That he could not ſuperſede it, but for a time in *England*. What his Opinion was, about *Subjects defending their Religion and Liberties by Force of Arms*, appear'd in the buſineſs of *Rochell*. For though ſome would have had us believe of late, That *Defenſive Arms* were inconſiſtent with the Principles of the Church of *England*; it's hop'd they will not deny but King *Charles* I. underſtood the *Doctrine* and *Principles* of that Church as well as any other Perſon can pretend to do; and yet its certain, that in his Practice and Declarations he allow'd of the People of Rochell's *vindicating their Religion and Liberties from the Encroachments made by their Sovereign*, and that by *Force of Arms*; and aſſiſted them in ſo doing.

His aſſiſting the *Rochellers*.

King *Charles* did not only aſſiſt the *Rochellers* after the War was actually begun, but we have reaſon to believe that he

he encourag'd them to it at firſt, if we look into the Duke of *Rhoan*'s *Memoirs* and *Apology*; where that Great Man acquaints the World in what manner he was brought into that War, in theſe words, as near as I can tranſlate them from the Original: *When all our Privileges* (ſays he) *were violated, and our Religion brought to Ruin, and the City of* Rochell *in the greateſt Danger, I could ſee no poſſibility to eſcape, but was upon the ſad thoughts of ſubmitting our ſelves to the Mercy of the King* (meaning *Lewis* the XIIIth.) *Being in this deſperate ſtate, there came a Gentleman to me from the King of* England; *who told me from his Maſter, That he ſeeing our Privileges were violated, and our Religion in danger of being ſubverted, had taken compaſſion on our Sufferings, and thought himſelf oblig'd in Honour and Conſcience to aſſiſt and protect us; which he was reſolv'd to do, by employing all his Kingdoms, and his own Perſon, in ſo juſt a War: Provided, we would join our Arms with his, and not enter into any Treaty with the King* (meaning the *French* King) *without him; and for that effect he would make War againſt the* French *King both by Sea and Land Intreating me* (continues the Duke of *Rhoan*) *not*

to

to abandon my Party in ſo juſt and honourable a War. And a little after, in the ſame Apology, he has theſe words; *I refer it to all the World, if I can be juſtly call'd the Author of the Third War, conſidering I was ſollicited to it by the King of* Great Britain.

But ſuppoſe there were no Credit to be given to the *Duke of Rhoan*, whoſe Honour and Veracity even his very Enemies never call'd in queſtion; and ſuppoſe it were falſe, which all the World knows to be true, that King *Charles* did actually aſſiſt the *Rochellers* again and again againſt their *Prince*; yet we have Authentick Accounts of ſeveral Speeches made by the Duke of *Buckingham's Secretary* to the *Rochellers*, and of ſeveral *Meſſages* ſent to them from the *Duke*, in name of the King his Maſter, all to the ſame purpoſe: And likewiſe a *Manifeſto* publiſh'd by him, and ſign'd with his own Hand, dated *July* 21. 1627. aboard the *Admiral Ship*; in which he has this Expreſſion: *No private Intereſt* (ſays he) *has oblig'd my Maſter to make War againſt the* French *King, but merely the Defence of the Proteſtant Church: My Maſter's deſign is the Reeſtabliſhment of the Church; their Good is his Intereſt, and their Contentment his End.*

We have alſo Authentick Copies of the *League* betwixt King *Charles* and the People of *Rochell*; in which there is this Expreſſion, *That the* Rochellers *may be deliver'd from the Oppreſſions they groan under.* And to ſum up all, there were two Letters writ by King *Charles* with his own Hand to the *Rochellers*, which are mention'd by Monſieur *Mervault*, a *Syndic* of that Town, and who was active in the whole matter, and preſent during the whole Siege; of which the Copies follow.

To the Mayor, Sheriffs, Peers, and Burgeſſes of the City of Rochell.

Gentlemen,

BE not diſcouraged, though my Fleet be return'd. Hold out to the laſt; for I am reſolv'd that my whole Fleet ſhall periſh, rather than you be not reliev'd. For this effect I have order'd It to return back to your Coaſts, and am ſending ſeveral Ships to reinforce it. With the Help of God the Succeſs ſhall be happy for you.

At *Weſtminſter, May* 19. O. S. 1628.

Your Good Friend,

CHARLES *R.*

The

The other Letter, directed as before, runs thus:

Gentlemen,

I Have been very much troubled to hear that my Fleet was upon the point of returning home, without obeying my Orders in ſupplying you with Proviſions, coſt what it will. I have commanded them to return to your Road, and not to come away until you are ſupply'd, or at leaſt till they are reinforc'd, which I have order'd to be done with all diligence. Aſſure your ſelves, That I ſhall never abandon you; and that I ſhall employ the whole Power of my Kingdom for your deliverance, until God aſſiſt me to obtain for you an aſſured Peace.

Given at our Palace of Weſtminſter, *May* 27. *O. S.* 1628.

Your Good Friend,

CHARLES *R.*

I have dwelt the longer upon this Subject, becauſe it is eaſy to draw a *Parallel* betwixt this Caſe of King *Charles*'s aſſiſting Subjects againſt their King in the Defence of their Religion and Liberties, and that of another Prince's doing the ſame upon a late occaſion. But as the former had no other Right to interpoſe

in the one, but *the common Intereſt of Religion*; ſo the other had over and above that, *the Right of a Prince of the Blood, and the Intereſt of the Preſumptive Heir of the Crown*; all which alter'd the Caſe greatly to the advantage of the latter. King *Charles* was as unfortunate in this War with *France*, as he was in all others he engag'd in. The poor City of *Rochell*, after a long and Cruel Siege, amidſt the Horrors of Famine and Death, was at laſt forc'd to ſubmit to the Will of the Conqueror; and the loſs of that Bulwark of the *French* Liberty, was in ſome time follow'd by the total Ruin of the Proteſtant Intereſt in *France*. The *Engliſh* Fleet lay within view of the Town when it was taken; and which added to the Misfortune, that mighty *Dyke*, that had been rais'd at ineſtimable Charges to block up the Harbour, fell down the very next day after the Surrender, and open'd a Paſſage for the Fleet that came to relieve it, when it was now too late.

The Character of the D of *Buckingham.*

During this War, he loſt his Favourite, *George Villiers*, *Duke of Buckingham.* This Gentleman was one of the greateſt Prodigies of Fortune that any Age has produc'd; and gave us a ſignal Inſtance how

how far it is poſſible for the ſame Perſon to be the *Favourite* of two Succeſſive Monarchs. He poſſeſs'd King *James*'s Favour without a Rival, and without any other Interruption, but that *Cloud* which the Intrigues of *Spain* rais'd againſt him in the King's mind, which has been already hinted at; wherein the Son ſhar'd equally with the Favourite, and which Biſhop *Williams*'s dexterity ſoon diſſipated. King *Charles* out-did his Father in his Kindneſs to *Buckingham*, and had no *Favourite* after him. He had all the Qualities that are requiſite for a Court, and fit to acquire and preſerve his Maſter's Affection. Notwithſtanding he was in his Temper *highly Generous* and *Beneficent*, and that there were few Great Families in *England* but he had ſome way or other oblig'd, either in themſelves or their Relations, yet he fell under the Misfortune that attends Favourites; but it muſt be own'd he was rather *envied* than *hated*. He had the ill luck to be charg'd with a great many things of which he was innocent, and particularly in relation to the *Spaniſh Match*. By all that I have ſeen, he deſerv'd the Thanks of the Nation upon thataccount, rather than an *Impeachment* in Parlia-

ment: For it was he chiefly that broke off that *Match*, when he ſaw how much King *James* ſuffer'd in his Honour, through the manner he was treated in it, which he found out ſooner than the King did himſelf. It's none of the leaſt Proofs of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Innocency in theſe matters, that *Spanhemius* in his Hiſtory of the *Electrice Palatine*, (writ long after *Buckingham*'s Death) ſpeaks always honourably of him in the Buſineſs of the *Palatinate*; whereas at the ſame time he expoſes King *James*'s Conduct.

It's a vulgar miſtake, That he came to be the *Firſt Miniſter*, merely through the Caprice of King *James*; for the Court unanimouſly promoted his Intereſt, and recommended him to the higheſt Favour, in oppoſition to *Somerſet*, whoſe Arrogancy, Covetouſneſs, and Pride, had diſoblig'd every body, and made both the King and the Court weary of him. No Servant did his Maſter more Honour in *the Magnificence of his Train, and the ſplendid Manner of his living*; eſpecially in his *Embaſſy* to *France*; where in the Gracefulneſs of his Perſon, and Nobleneſs of his Behaviour and Equipage, he out-did any thing that ever was

ſeen

ſeen of that kind before. He was more form'd for a Court than a Camp; and though very Brave in his Perſon, he was Unſucceſsful in the only *Military Expedition* he was engag'd in, which was that of *Rochell*: And when he was upon the embarking a ſecond time to repair that Diſgrace, *he was baſely murder'd amidſt a Croud of his Friends, and in the height of his Glory.*

To return to King *Charles*'s Character. If he had any Perſonal Faults, they were much over-weigh'd by his *Virtues:* But an `*Immoderate Deſire of Power*, beyond what the Conſtitution did allow of, was the Rock he ſplit upon. He might have been happy, if he had truſted more to his own Judgment, than that of thoſe about him; for as in his nature he was an Enemy to all violent Meaſures, ſo was he apt to ſubmit his own Reaſon to that of others, when any ſuch things came under conſideration. There was another Error that run through the whole Management of his Affairs, both Domeſtick and Publick, and which occaſion'd a great part of his Misfortunes: He appear'd many times ſtiff and poſitive in denying at firſt, what he granted afterwards out of time, and too late to give

ſatisfaction; which encourag'd ambitious and intereſted Perſons to ask more than they thought of at firſt, and loſt him the fruits of his former Conceſſions. So that in the whole Conduct of his Life he verified this Maxim, *That Errors in Government have ruin'd more Princes than their Perſonal Vices.*

I ſhall have done with this Melancholy Subject, after the Reader has been acquainted with one remarkable *Accident*, not hitherto mention'd with that Exactneſs it deſerves, by any Author I know of; which conſidering its Conſequences, is an extraordinary Inſtance, *upon what ſmall Hinges the greateſt Revolutions may turn.*

The true Cauſe of the *Scots* coming firſt into *England.*

That the principal Riſe of all King *Charles*'s latter Troubles, was from the *Second War with the Scots*, has been already ſhow'd. But what the Motives were that embolden'd the *Scots* to alter their Meaſures from thoſe they had obſerv'd in the firſt War, continues in great part a Myſtery to this day. In the firſt War they ſtood upon the Defenſive only, and came no further than their own Borders; but in the ſecond they acted ſo much in the offenſive, that they march'd into *England* as far as *Durham*, and were coming on

on further, if the *Treaty* that was ſet a-foot at *Rippon* had not ſtopt them. All the Accounts we have of this proceeding of the *Scots*, do ſeem to be grounded upon the Informations they had of the *Backwardneſs of* England *to aſſiſt the King in this War*; and that they were well aſſur'd of Friends all over the Kingdom, and ſome of neareſt acceſs to the King's Perſon, who they knew would interpoſe in their behalf, rather than Matters ſhould come to Extremities. But theſe general Encouragements can hardly be thought to have had ſuch weight with the *Scots*, as to make them venture upon ſo bold an Attempt; and therefore it's but reaſonable to believe they went upon ſurer Grounds, when they made this *Invaſion*.

This matter will be ſet in a clearer Light, when the Reader is acquainted, That a *Forg'd Letter* (pretended to be ſent from ſome of the moſt Leading Men of the Nobility of *England*), came to have the ſame effects as if it had been a True One, and really ſign'd by the ſame Perſons whoſe Names were affix'd to it. Which fell out in this manner.

After the *Pacification at Duns*, which put an end to the firſt War, the King at his

his Return to *London* was prevail'd with, upon the account of ſeveral things the *Scots* were ſaid to have done contrary to the *Articles* of the *Treaty*, and the Duty of Subjects, to order the *Pacification* to be burnt by the hands of the Common Hangman. To reduce them to obedience, he was meditating a New War, and in order thereto was levying another Army, and was pleas'd to call a Parliament to aſſiſt him in it. The *Scots* had their Commiſſioners at *London* at that time, who wanted not Friends in both Houſes to inform them of every thing that happen'd in *Parliament* and *Council*, which they fail'd not to write home to their Countrey; *adviſing them to be on their Guard, and to put themſelves in a poſture not to be ſurpriz'd.*

The *Scots* knowing how matters went in *England*, and that a new Storm was like to break out upon them, were reſolv'd to put themſelves into a Poſture of Defence; and to the Forces they had not yet disbanded, they added conſiderable new *Levies* both of Horſe and Foot. Their Preparations went faſter on than the King's, and with the more cheerfulneſs; for by this time he had parted on ill terms with his Parliament, and with-

without obtaining a *Supply*. While the King was advancing towards the *North*, the *Scots* drew to their Borders; and it was debated at ſeveral *Councils of War*, where *a Committee of Eſtates* aſſiſted, Whether they ſhould expect the King upon the Borders, as they had done before, or march into *England*, and carry the War out of their own Countrey. But they had taken no Reſolution in the matter, before the King was got as far as *York*.

In this nice Juncture there came a Gentleman to the *Engliſh* Border, who ſent a Meſſage to the *Earl of Rothes*, That he deſir'd to acquaint him with a Matter of the greateſt Importance and Secreſy, if he might privately and with ſafety ſpeak with him alone. *Rothes* thereupon ſent a Truſty Servant with a *Paſsport*, to conduct him to his *Quarters*; where the Gentleman told him, That he was directed particularly to him as a Perſon of great Honour, and whom they could ſafely truſt, with a Meſſage from ſeveral Great Men of *England*; who were *griev'd for the Ruin they foreſaw muſt neceſſarily attend their Country, if the King ſhould make himſelf Abſolute Maſter of* Scotland; *ſeeing after that, they were*

were to expect the same Fate, considering how little to the King's satisfaction things had been carried in the Parliament of England, *and how much he had resented their refusing a Subsidy to carry on this War.* He told him, *That nothing was so much desir'd in* England, *as a Free Parliament to redress their Grievances: And if the* Scots *would march immediately into* England, *the King must necessarily be straitned to that degree in his Affairs, as to be oblig'd to call a Parliament: And that upon their March, the City of* London, *and the greatest part of the Nobility and Gentry would not only petition the King for a Free Parliament, but likewise mediate between the King and them, and bring matters to such an Accommodation, as might be for the good of both Nations:* Adding withal, *That if the* Scots *slipt this Opportunity, they were never to expect the like again.* The Gentleman having deliver'd this Message, gave the Earl a *Letter* directed to him, and sign'd by about *Twelve Noblemen*, much to the same purpose, but writ more cautiously, and in more general terms; desiring him for a further Explanation, to give entire Credit to the Bearer, whom they had fully inform'd of their Intentions.

Rothes,

Rothes, with the Gentleman's leave, acquainted *General Leſley*, afterwards Earl of *Leven*, and one or two of the moſt Leading Men of the Committee of Eſtates, with this *Meſſage*; and upon ſolemn Promiſes of Secrecy, ſhow'd them the *Letter*; both which agreeing ſo well in the main with the Intelligence they had receiv'd from *England*, and ſuiting with their own Inclinations, determin'd them in the Point: And next morning, in the Council of War, *It was reſolv'd to march into* England *that Afternoon*; which accordingly they did. *Rothes* in the mean time diſpatch'd back the Meſſenger with an Anſwer to the Noblemen he ſuppos'd had writ to him; *Thanking them for their Advice, and acquainting them with the Reſolution had been taken thereupon.*

It fell out afterwards at the Treaty of *Rippon*, when the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Commiſſioners grew familiar with one another, that the Earl of *Rothes* came from *Newcaſtle* to the Place of Treaty; and one of the *Engliſh* Noblemen making him a Viſit, they fell into Diſcourſe about the preſent Juncture of Affairs. The *Engliſh* Nobleman expreſs'd how much he had been ſurpriz'd upon the firſt News of

of the *Scots* entring into *England*; and told him, That though he hop'd it would now turn to the Advantage of both Nations, yet it was in it ſelf a dangerous and raſh Attempt, and might have been fatal to the *Scots*, if the King had not been pleas'd to enter into a Treaty for an Accommodation of Matters in diſpute between them. *Rothes* was at a ſtand what to make of this Diſcourſe, conſidering this Nobleman was one of thoſe whoſe Name was to the Letter formerly mention'd; and therefore anſwer'd, *That he wondred his Lordſhip was ſurpriz'd at an Action he had ſo much influenc'd: And that if it had not been for the Invitation of himſelf and his Friends, perhaps the* Scots *Army might have continued ſtill on the other ſide of* Tweed. The Two Lords being equally in the dark as to one another's meaning, were at length, upon producing of the Letter, both of them undeceiv'd, and found it was a mere Forgery; which was afterwards acknowledg'd by the Contriver, who was the Lord *Savile*, created ſome time after Earl of *Suſſex*.

This Letter, though forgotten now, was much talk'd of during the Civil Wars: And I have ſeen ſeveral Original Papers of thoſe Times, that men-

mention'd it. A Noble Lord, lately dead, whoſe Name was to the Letter, never made any ſcruple of telling this Paſſage to his Friends, in the manner I have related it. And I once had a Copy of the *Letter* it ſelf (from the *Original*, which was then, and I believe is ſtill among the Papers of the *Noble Family* of *Rothes*), which I have ſince loſt. I muſt confeſs I have dwelt longer upon this matter, than conſiſts with the Brevity I intended, and that it might have been more properly mention'd in another place: Yet thus it was, that a *Counterfeit Invitation* brought the *Scots* into *England*, in the Year 1640. And conſidering the Conſequences, it may be ſaid, *That Providence many times ſeems to play with Human Affairs, and influences the Fate of Kingdoms by Counſels and Meaſures the moſt improbable to ſucceed, if he had not deſign'd them to be ſubſervient to his great Ends.*

There is an Hiſtorian for whom I have the higheſt Veneration, who in his *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, mentions a Paſſage not unlike to this, and perhaps it may be the very ſame, though his Relation and mine differ *in the time*, and ſome other *Circumſtances*. And ſeeing I happen'd

Biſhop of *Salisbury*'s Memoirs of the Dukes of *Hamilton*.

happen'd to look into that Book ſome time after I had writ theſe Sheets; that I may do Juſtice to its Reverend Author, whoſe Information I am willing to believe may be better than my own, though I had mine from no common Hands, I ſhall give his Account of it in his own words; and the rather, for that I do not remember the Date of the Letter upon which the Paſſage turns, though I do the main Deſign and Contents of it.

"But that the Reader may not be "wholly in the dark, *ſays this Great Hi-* "*ſtorian*, about the Grounds of this Con- "fidence the *Covenanters* had, I ſhall ſet "down what I had from ſome Perſons "of Great Honour, who were fully in- "form'd about it. When the Earls of "*Dumfermling* and *Loudon* came to *Lon-* "*don*, a Perſon of Quality of the *Engliſh* "Nation (whoſe Name is ſuppreſs'd "becauſe of the Infamy of this Action) "came to them, and with great Vehe- "mence preſs'd them to engage in a new "War; and among other Motives "brought them *Engagements* in writing "from moſt of the greateſt Peers of "*England*, to join with them, and aſſiſt "them when they ſhould come into *Eng-*

"*land*

"*land* with their Army. This did much "animate them; for they had not the "leaſt doubt of the Papers brought them. "But all this was diſcover'd at *the Treaty* "*of Rippon*, to have been a baſe *Forgery*: "For there the *Scottiſh* Lords looking "very ſullenly upon ſome of the *Engliſh* "Lords, as on Perſons of no Faith or "Truth, the Lord *Mandevil* came to the "Earl of *Rothes*, and asked the reaſon "of that change of their Countenances "and Behaviour in them; who after "ſome high Reflections, at length chal-"leng'd him and the other Lords of not "keeping what they engag'd to them. "Upon which that Lord ſtood amaz'd, "and told him, and ſo did the other "Lords there, That they had ſent no "ſuch Meſſages nor Papers to them; and "that they had been abus'd by the black-"eſt Impoſture that ever was. Thus it "appear'd (*concludes this Author*) how "dangerous it may be to receive ſome "things that ſeem to have the higheſt "probabilities in them, eaſily and upon "truſt.

To leave this Subject, it may not be improper to add another Paſſage out of the ſame Book; where that *Reverend Prelate* ſpeaking of the Inducements

that prevail'd with the *Scots* to come into the Aſſiſtance of the Parliament Three Years after; tells us, "That among other "Arguments That Paper which was ſent "down in the Year 1640, as the Engage- "ment of Twenty eight of the Peers of "*England*, for their Concurrence with "the *Scottiſh* Army that Year, was ſhown "to divers, to engage them into a grate- "ful Return to thoſe to whom it was "pretended they were ſo highly oblig'd. "For though the Earl of *Rothes* (and a "few more) were well ſatisfied about "the Forgery of that Paper, yet they "thought that a Secret of too great Im- "portance to be generally known; there- "fore it was ſtill kept up from the Body "of the Nation.

K. *Charles*'s thoughts of Reſigning the Crown to his Son.

To ſhut up what relates to K. *Charles* I. After the Treaty of *Newport* was broke off, and he once more carried away by the Army, he found his Caſe was deſperate, and thereupon began to have ſome Thoughts of *Reſigning the Crown to the Prince of* Wales, as the only means in that unhappy Condition, to preſerve it for his Family. But before he had time to digeſt this Reſolution, or an opportunity to acquaint the Parliament with it, he

he was hurried on to his Trial. The laſt day of that *Trial* he earneſtly propos'd, *That before Sentence paſs'd, he might be heard before the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, where he had ſomething to offer for the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, which might ſettle all differences.* It is probable he meant by this, to have reſign'd the Crown; which his Enemies having ſome Intimation of, and fearing it might be accepted, they were the more forward to proceed to *Sentence* and *Execution.*

About ſetting up the Duke of *Glouceſter* King.

Likewiſe ſome days before his Death, the prevailing Party had thoughts of ſetting up the *Duke of Glouceſter* King. This was not kept ſo ſecret, but King *Charles* had ſome notice of it; for the Duke and his Siſter having leave to wait upon him the Night before the Execution, he took the Young Duke in his Arms, and told him, *They were going to take off his Father's Head, and may be they would ſet the Crown upon his Head; which he forbad him to accept of while his Two Elder Brothers were Living.*

There befel him an *Accident*, which though a Trifle in it ſelf, and that no Weight is to be laid upon any thing of that nature; yet ſince the beſt Authors,

both *Ancient* and *Modern*, have not thought it below the Majesty of History to mention the like, it may be the more excusable to insert it.

His consulting the *Sortes Virgilianæ*.

The King being at *Oxford* during the Civil Wars, went one day to see the Publick Library, where he was shown'd among other Books, a *Virgil* nobly Printed, and exquisitely bound. The Lord *Falkland*, to divert the King, would have his Majesty make a Trial of his Fortune by the *Sortes Virgilianæ*; which every body knows was an usual kind of *Augury* some Ages past. Whereupon the King opening the Book, the Period which happen'd to come up, was that part of *Dido*'s Imprecation against *Æneas*; which Mr. *Dryden* translates thus:

Yet let a Race untam'd, and haughty Foes,
His peaceful Entrance with dire Arms oppose.
Oppress'd with Numbers in th' unequal Field,
His Men discourag'd, and himself expell'd,
Let him for Succour sue from place to place,
Torn from his Subjects, and his Son's embrace.
First let him see his Friends in Battel slain,
And their untimely Fate lament in vain:

Æneidos Lib. 4 Num. 615. Vers.

At bello audacis populi vexatus, & armis; And
Finibus extorris, complexu avulsus Iuli,
Auxilium imploret videatq; indigna suorum
Funera: nec cum se sub leges pacis iniqua
Trade-

And when at length the cruel War ſhall ceaſe,
On hard Conditions may he buy his Peace.
Nor let him then enjoy Supreme Command,
But fall untimely by ſome hoſtile Hand,
And lye unburi'd in the common Sand.

It is ſaid K. *Charles* ſeem'd concern'd at this Accident; and that the Lord *Falkland* obſerving it, would likewiſe try his own Fortune in the ſame manner; hoping he might fall upon ſome Paſſage that could have no relation to his Caſe, and thereby divert the King's Thoughts from any Impreſſion the other might have upon him: But the place that *Falkland* ſtumbled upon, was yet more ſuited to his Deſtiny, than the other had been to the King's; being the following Expreſſions of *Evander*, upon the untimely Death of his Son *Pallas*, as they are tranſlated by the ſame Hand.

O Pallas! *thou haſt fail'd thy plighted Word,*
To fight with Reaſon; not to tempt the Sword.
I warn'd thee but in vain, for well I knew
What Perils Youthful Ardor would purſue;
That boiling Blood would carry thee too far,
Young as thou were't in Dangers, raw to War.

Tradiderit regno aut optata luce fruatur,
Sed cadat ante diem, mediâq; inhumatus arenâ.

O curst Essay of Arms, disast'rous Doom,
Prelude of Bloody Fields and Fights to come.

To return to our History: Upon the Death of King *Charles* I. there was a *Total Eclipse* of the Royal Family for Twelve Years: During a great part of which time an unusual *Meteor* fill'd the *English Orb*, and with its surprizing Influences over-aw'd not only Three Kingdoms, but the powerfullest Princes and States about us. A Great Man he was, and Posterity might have paid a just Homage to his Memory, *if he had not embrued his Hands in the Blood of his Prince, or had not usurp'd upon the Liberties of his Countrey.*

It being as natural a Curiosity in mankind to know the Character of a *Fortunate Usurper*, as of a Lawful King, it may not perhaps be much amiss to say something of *Oliver Cromwell.*

The Usurpation and Character of *Oliver Cromwell.*

By Birth he was a Gentleman, and bred up for some time at the *University*, though nothing of a Scholar. When the *Civil Wars* broke out, he took the Parliament s Side; and his first Employment in the Army was a Captain of Horse, whence by degrees he rose to be *Lieutenant*:

En: Lib XI · N: V: 151

Non hæc, o Palla, dederas promissa Parenti,
Cautius ut sævo velles te credere Marti.
Haud ignarus eram, quantùm nova gloria in armis,
Et prædulcis decus primo certamine posset.
Primitiæ, juvenis, miseræ, bellique propinqui
Dura rudimenta

nant-General under the *Earl of Mancheſter:* In which Poſt he was the chief Inſtrument, together with *Lieutenant-General Leſley*, of gaining the Battel of *Marſton-Moor*, which prov'd the firſt remarkable Stop to the King's Succeſs. Some time after, the Earl of *Mancheſter* having refus'd to give an *Order* to *Cromwell*, to charge a Party of Horſe where the King was perſonally preſent, he came up to *London* to complain againſt him, though he ow'd his Advancement chiefly to his Favour. Which the Earl having notice of, and being by this time weary of a War, *of which he foreſaw the fatal Conſequences*, he took that opportunity to lay down his Command; wherein he was ſucceeded by *Cromwell*.

Sir *Thomas Fairfax* alſo laying down his Commiſſion ſome time after, he was declar'd *General of all the Forces rais'd or to be rais'd by the Parliament*; and having modell'd the Parliament and Army to his mind, he diſmiſs'd the *former*, when he had no more uſe for them; and upon their forc'd *Reſignation*, he aſſum'd the *Supreme Power*, under the Title of *Protector*.

Being thus mounted to ſo high a Pinacle of Fortune, he became more formi-

dable both at Home and Abroad, than moſt Princes that had ever ſat upon the *Engliſh* Throne. And it was ſaid that *Cardinal Mazarine* would change Countenance, whenever he heard him nam'd; ſo that it paſs'd into a Proverb in *France*, That *he was not ſo much afraid of the Devil, as of* Oliver Cromwell. He had a Manly Stern Look, and was of an Active, Healthful Conſtitution, able to endure the greateſt Toil and Fatigue. Though Brave in his Perſon, yet he was Wary in his Conduct; for from the time he was firſt declar'd *Protector*, he always wore a *Coat of Mail* under his Cloaths. His Converſation among his Friends was very diverting and familiar, but in publick reſerv'd and grave. He was ſparing in his Diet, though ſometimes would drink freely, but never to Exceſs. He was moderate in all other Pleaſures, and for what was viſible, free from Immoralities, eſpecially after he came to make a Figure in the World. He writ a tolerable good Hand, and a Stile becoming a Gentleman; except when he had a mind to wheedle, under the Mask of Religion; which he knew nicely how to do, when his Affairs requir'd it. He affected for the moſt part a Plainneſs in his Cloaths; but in them,

as

as well as in his *Guards* and *Attendance*, he appear'd with Magnificence upon Publick Occaſions. No man was ever better ſerv'd, nor took more pains to be ſo. As he was ſevere to his Enemies, ſo was he beneficent and kind to his Friends. And if he came to hear of a Man fit for his purpoſe, though never ſo obſcure, he ſent for him, and employ'd him; *ſuiting the Employment to the Perſon, and not the Perſon to the Employment.* And upon this *Maxim* in his Government depended in a great meaſure his Succeſs.

In matters of greateſt Moment, he truſted none but his Secretary *Thurlo*, and oftentimes not him. An Inſtance of which *Thurlo* us'd to tell of himſelf; *That he was once commanded by* Cromwell *to go at a certain hour to* Grays-Inn, *and at ſuch a place deliver a Bill of Twenty thouſand Pound, payable to the Bearer at* Genoa, *to a Man he ſhould find walking in ſuch a Habit and Poſture as he deſcrib'd him, without ſpeaking one word.* Which accordingly *Thurlo* did; and never knew to his dying day either the *Perſon* or the *Occaſion.*

At another time the *Protector* coming late at Night to *Thurlo*'s *Office*, and beginning to give him directions about ſome-

ſomething of great Importance and Secrecy, he took notice that Mr. *Moreland*, one of the Clerks, afterward Sir *Samuel Moreland*, was in the Room, which he had not obſerv'd before; and fearing he might have over-heard their Diſcourſe, though he pretended to be aſleep upon his Desk, he drew a Ponyard, which he always carried under his Coat, and was going to diſpatch *Moreland* upon the Spot, if *Thurlo* had not with great Intreaties prevail'd with him to deſiſt, aſſuring him that *Moreland* had ſat up two Nights together, and was now certainly aſleep.

There was not the ſmalleſt Accident that befel King *Charles* the Second in his *Exile*, but he knew it perfectly well; inſomuch that having given leave to an *Engliſh* Nobleman to Travel, upon condition he ſhould not ſee *Charles Stuart*; he ask'd him at his Return, If he had punctually obey'd his Commands? Which the other affirming he had; *Cromwell* replied, *It's true, you did not ſee him; for to keep your Word with me, you agreed to meet in the dark, the Candles being put out for that end:* And withal, told him all the Particulars that paſs'd in Converſation betwixt the King and him at their Meeting.

That

That he had Spies about King *Charles*, was not ſtrange; but his Intelligence reach'd the moſt ſecret *Tranſactions* of other Princes; and when the Matter was communicated to but very few. Of which we have a notable Inſtance in the Buſineſs of *Dunkirk*. There was an *Article* in the *Treaty* between *France* and the *Protector*, That if *Dunkirk* came to be taken, it ſhould be immediately deliver'd up to the *Engliſh*; and his Ambaſſador *Lockhart* had Orders to take Poſſeſſion of it accordingly. When the *French* Army being join'd with the *Engliſh Auxiliaries*, was in its March to Inveſt the Town, *Cromwell* ſent one Morning for the *French Ambaſſador* to *Whitehall*, and upbraided him publickly for his Maſter's deſign'd Breach of Promiſe, in giving ſecret *Orders* to the *French* General to keep Poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, in caſe it was taken, contrary to the *Treaty* between them. The Ambaſſador proteſted he knew nothing of the matter, as indeed he did not, and begg'd leave to aſſure him that there was no ſuch thing thought of. Upon which *Cromwell* pulling a Paper out of his Pocket, *Here* (ſays he) *is the Copy of the Cardinal's Order: And I deſire you to diſpatch immediately an Expreſs, to let him*

The Buſineſs of *Dunkirk*.

him know, That I am not to be impos'd upon; and that if he deliver not up the Keys of the Town of Dunkirk *to* Lockhart *within an hour after it ſhall be taken, tell him, I'll come in Perſon, and demand them at the Gates of* Paris. There were but Four Perſons ſaid to be privy to this *Order*, the *Queen-Mother*, the *Cardinal*, the *Mareſchal de Turenne*, and a *Secretary*, whoſe Name it is not fit at this time to mention. The Cardinal for a long time blam'd the Queen, as if ſhe might poſſibly have blabb'd it out to ſome of her Women: Whereas it was found, after the Secretary's Death, That he had kept a ſecret Correſpondence with *Cromwell* for ſeveral Years; and therefore it was not doubted but he had ſent him the Copy of the *Order* above-mention'd.

The Meſſage had its effect; for *Dunkirk* was put into the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*. And to palliate the matter, the *Duke* and *Mareſchal of Crequy* was diſpatch'd into *England Ambaſſador Extraordinary*, to Compliment *Cromwell*, attended with a Numerous and Splendid Train of Perſons of Quality; among whom was a *Prince of the Blood*, and *Muncini*, *Mazarine*'s Nephew, who brought a Letter from his Uncle to the Pro-

Protector, full of the higheſt Expreſſions of Reſpect; and aſſuring his Highneſs, That *being within view of the* Engliſh *Shore, nothing but the King's Indiſpoſition* (who lay then ill of the Small-Pox at *Calais*) *could have hinder'd him to come over to* England, *that he might enjoy the Honour of waiting upon one of the Greateſt Men that ever was; and whom next to his Maſter, his greateſt Ambition was to ſerve. But being depriv'd of ſo great a happineſs, he had ſent the Perſon that was neareſt to him in Blood, to aſſure him of the profound Veneration he had for his Perſon, and how much he was reſolv'd, to the utmoſt of his power, to cultivate a perpetual Amity and Friendſhip betwixt his Maſter and him.*

Few Princes ever bore their Character higher upon all occaſions, than *Oliver Cromwell*, eſpecially in his *Treaties* with *Crown'd Heads*. And it's a thing without Example, that's mention'd by one of the beſt-inform'd *Hiſtorians* of the Age, *Puffendorf*, in the Life of the late Elector of *Brandenburgh*, That in *Cromwell*'s League with *France* againſt *Spain*, he would not allow the *French* King to call himſelf King of *France*, but of *the French*; whereas he took to himſelf not only the Title of *Protector* of *England*, but

but likewiſe of *France*. And which is yet more ſurprizing, and which can hardly be believ'd, but for the Authority of the Author, whoſe own Words are in the Margin, In the Inſtrument of the Treaty, the *Protector*'s Name was put before the *French* King's. It's true, *France* was then under a *Minority*, and was not arriv'd at that Greatneſs to which it has ſince attain'd. Towards which, *Cromwell* contributed not a little, by that *League* with *France* againſt *Spain*; being the falſeſt Step he ever made, with reſpect to the *Tranquility of Europe*.

Puffendorf de Rebus Geſtis Friderici Wilhelmi Electoris Brandenburgici, p. 313. Id porro Bellum Protectoris in Hiſpanos adeo opportunum, Gallo accedebat, ut ſummo Studio iſtum fædore ſibi innectere ſtuderet, etiam conceſſo, ut Cromwellus eundem, *Gallorum Regem*, non *Galliarum* nuncuparet, aliâs ipſe Protectoris quoque Franciæ, vocabulum, ſicut Angliæ aſſumpturus: Simul pateretur Cromwellum Inſtrumento ſuo Nomen titulumque ante Gallicum ponere.

As every thing did contribute to the *Fall* of King *Charles* I. ſo did every thing contribute to the *Riſe* of *Cromwell*. And as there was no deſign at firſt againſt the King's Life, ſo it's probable that *Cromwell* had no thoughts, for a long time, of ever arriving at what he afterwards was. It is known he was once in *Treaty* with the King, after the Army had carried his Majeſty away from *Holmby Houſe*, to have Reſtor'd him to the Throne; which pro-

probably he would have done, if the Secret had not been like to take Vent, by the Indiſcretion of ſome about the King; which puſh'd *Cromwell* on to prevent *his own*, by *the Ruin of the King*.

It's likewiſe certain, that *the Title of Protector* did not ſatisfy his Ambition, but that he aim'd to be King. The Matter was for ſome time under Conſideration, both in his *Mock-Parliament*, and *Council of State*; in-ſo-far, that a *Crown* was actually made, and brought to *Whitehall* for that purpoſe. But the Averſion he found in the Army againſt it, and the fear of the *Commonwealth-Party*, oblig'd him to lay the Thoughts of it aſide, at leaſt for that time. Yet it's probable theſe high Aims did not dye, but with himſelf: For to be able with the help of *Spaniſh* Gold to carry on his Deſign in *England*, without depending upon a Parliament for Money, is thought was the true Motive of his Attempt upon *St. Domingo*; which was the only Action of War he fail'd in.

But notwithſtanding his ſpecious Pretences to the contrary, *Cromwell* invaded and betrayed the Liberties of his Countrey, and acted a more *Tyrannical and Arbitrary Part*, than all the Kings of *England*

land together had done since the *Norman Conquest*. And yet after all, his Good Fortune accompanied him to the last; for after a long Chain of Success, he died in Peace, and in the Arms of his Friends; was buried among the Kings with a Royal Pomp, and his Death *condol'd* by the Greatest *Princes* and *States of Christendom*, in *Solemn Embassies* to his *Son*.

But this is not all; for whatever Reasons the House of *Austria* had to hate the Memory of *Cromwell*, yet his causing the *Portugal Ambassador*'s Brother to be Executed for a *Tumult* in *London*, notwithstanding his *Plea* of being a *Publick Minister* as well as his Brother, was near Twenty Years after *Cromwell*'s Death, brought as a Precedent by the present *Emperor*, to justify his Arresting and carrying off the *Prince of Furstenburgh* at the Treaty of *Cologne*, notwithstanding *Furstenburgh*'s being a *Plenipotentiary* for the *Elector* of that Name. And in the Printed *Manifesto* publish'd by the Emperor upon that occasion, this Piece of *Cromwell*'s Justice in executing the *Portugueze Gentleman*, is related at large.

To sum up *Cromwell*'s Character, it's observable, That as the *Ides* of *March* were equally Fortunate and Fatal to *Julius*

lius Cæsar, another Famous Invader of the Liberties of his Countrey; so was the *Third of September* to *Oliver Cromwell*; *For on that Day he was Born*; *on that Day he fought the Three Great Battels of* Marston-Moor, Worcester, *and* Dunbar; *and on that Day he died.*

Cromwell died in the peaceable Possession of the *Sovereign Power*, though disguis'd under another Name, and left it to a Son that *had neither Heart nor Abilities to keep it.* The *Genius* of the Nation return'd to *its Natural Byass*; and *Monarchy* was so much interwoven with the *Laws*, *Customs*, and the *first Threads of the* English *Constitution*, that it was altogether impossible it could be ever totally worn out. Our Ancestors had wisely settled themselves upon that *Bottom*; and those very men that some Years before had justled out Monarchy, upon the account of its Encroachments upon the Rights of the People, were become as zealous now to restore it again, upon the Encroachments that the assuming part of the People had made of late, upon the Rights of their Fellow-Subjects. For near Two Years together after *Cromwell*'s Death, the Government of *England* underwent *various Shapes*, and every Month

almoſt produc'd a New *Scheme*; till in the end *all theſe Convulſions co-operated to turn the Nation again upon its True and Ancient Baſis.* Thence it was, that the Son of King *Charles* the Firſt, after Ten Years *Exile*, was reſtor'd to his Father's Throne in the Year 1660, without Blood, or any remarkable Oppoſition.

The Reſtoration of King *Charles* II.

This *Revolution* was the more to be admir'd, ſince not only all Attempts to bring King *Charles* back by Force of Arms, prov'd ineffectual; but that notwithſtanding upon *Cromwell*'s Death, every thing at home ſeem'd to concur to his *Reſtoration*; yet the bare Name of an *Engliſh Parliament*, though but the Shadow of what formerly it was, continued to be ſo Terrible abroad, that neither *France* nor *Spain* durſt venture to give King *Charles* the leaſt Aſſiſtance to regain his Throne; but on the contrary, were oblig'd to treat him in a manner altogether unworthy of a *Crown'd Head:* As appears by the following Inſtance at the *Treaty* of the *Pyrenees.*

The Behaviour of the *French* and *Spaniards* to K. *Charles* II. at the Treaty of the *Pyrenees.*

King *Charles* after having in vain ſought a Sanctuary in *France*, was neceſſitated to throw himſelf upon the Friendſhip of *Spain.* He was at *Bruſſels* when he

he receiv'd the News of the Diſpoſition that was in *England* to Reſtore him, juſt at the time the *Conferences* were to begin between *Cardinal Mazarine*, and *Lewis de Haro*, the Two *Plenipotentiaries* of *France* and *Spain*, in order to a *General Peace*. This determin'd King *Charles* to take Poſt from *Bruſſels* through *France*, to the Place of *Treaty*, that he might in Perſon repreſent his Intereſts to theſe Two *Miniſters*. He judg'd the *Spaniards* had reaſon to be Enemies to the *then Government* in *England*, for not only having taken *Dunkirk* and *Jamaica* from them, and enter'd into a League with *Portugal* againſt them, but for endeavouring all that was poſſible to perſuade the *French* to continue the War. Upon the other hand, it was but reaſonable to think that *France* could not be well pleas'd to ſee the *Engliſh* Maſter of ſuch a *Frontier* Town as *Dunkirk*; or that *Mazarine*, the moſt Ambitious Man upon Earth, would not be willing to raiſe his own Glory, by eſpouſing the Cauſe of an Exil'd Prince, eſpecially when there was ſo great probability of Succeſs.

Notwithſtanding all theſe plauſible Appearances, King *Charles* made this long Journey to no purpoſe. It's true,

Lewis de Haro receiv'd him with all poſſible Marks of Reſpect: But the *Cardinal* poſitively denied him Acceſs. All he could be brought to, after ſeveral Meſſages from the King, was to allow the Duke of *Ormond* to talk to him upon the Road from St. *Jean de Luz* to the Place of *Treaty*, as if it had been but an accidental Rencounter. *Ormond* obtain'd nothing of the *Cardinal*, but general and ambiguous Anſwers: Till being preſs'd, he told *Ormond* plainly, *That all his Maſter could do for his Couſin the King of* England, *was to compaſſionate his Misfortunes; as not being in a condition himſelf to break with the Government of* England, *with which his Affairs oblig'd him to keep a good Correſpondence.* Over and above this Neglect of *Mazarine*'s, King *Charles* had the Mortification to ſee Ambaſſador *Lockhart* receiv'd at the ſame time with the greateſt Pomp and Splendor, having the *Cardinal*'s Coaches and Guards ſent a day's Journey to receive him, and the *Cardinal* giving him the *Right Hand*, which was a Reſpect he denied the Ambaſſadors of *Crown'd Heads*. Nor was *Lewis de Haro* kinder upon the matter to King *Charles*, notwithſtanding all his Civilities; for having ask'd the Command

mand of the Army in *Flanders*, which the Prince of *Conde* was by the *Treaty* oblig'd to quit, *Don Lewis* refus'd it. All which will be a laſting Example to Poſterity, *how little Truſt is to be repos'd in Foreign Aid, when a Prince comes to need it, for recovering his Throne.*

Monk's part in the Reſtoration.

It were the higheſt Injuſtice to deny *General Monk* the greateſt ſhare of the Honour in *Reſtoring* King *Charles* II. and yet it is a queſtion whether his Deſign to do it, was of ſo long ſtanding, as ſome have reported. It's probable he had no Thoughts that way, till about the time that *Richard Cromwell* was depriv'd of the Government: In which he was afterwards the more confirm'd, upon the *Army* in *England*'s ſetting up once more for themſelves. If he had really a form'd Intention at that time to bring back the King; it muſt be confeſs'd he acted the part of a *Politician*, much better than that of a *Chriſtian*; for he declar'd once again at that time, *for a Commonwealth, without the King, a Single Perſon, or Houſe of Lords*; and formally Renounc'd the *Family of the Stuarts*. All which will appear by a *Letter*, ſign'd by him and his Officers, to the Parliament, upon *Richard*'s Abdication, and the *Declaration*

Appendix, Numb. 11. it ſelf, mention'd at length in the *Appendix*.

It's hardly to be imagin'd he had a mind to ſet up for himſelf, as his Enemies have given out; for he could not but ſee the whole Nation was returning apace to their *Ancient Monarchical Principles*; and therefore he had little elſe to do, but to comply a while with the Times, till by declaring for a *Free Parliament*, he pav'd the way for the King's Return. It's certain the People that then aſſum'd *the Supreme Power*, were jealous of his Intentions; and it was within an Ace he eſcap'd a Trap laid for him, juſt at the time when he was ready to march from *Scotland*; which would have inevitably ruin'd his Deſign, if a mere Accident had not interven'd.

For *Monk* keeping his ordinary Reſidence at *Dalkeith*, ſome four Miles on this ſide of *Edinburgh*, the *London Packet* touch'd conſtantly there, that the *General* might have his Letters before it reach'd *Edinburgh*. The *Committee of Safety* being reſolv'd to ſecure *Monk*, diſpatch'd ſecret Orders to *Scotland* by the ordinary Packet, leſt an Expreſs might give ſuſpicion; and inſtead of directing the Label for *Dalkeith*, as was uſual,

uſual, it was order'd ſtraight for *Edinburgh*. It happen'd that one of *Monk*'s Lifeguard met accidentally the *Poſt* turning out of the Road that led to *Dalkeith*, and finding he had not touch'd there, he brought him back, notwithſtanding the *Label* was directed otherwiſe. *Monk* ſuſpecting ſomething, open'd all the *Letters* that he found directed to the *Officers* of the Army; among which there was one from the *Committee of Safety* to Colonel *Thomas Wilks*, ordering him to *uſe the moſt effectual, ſpeedy, and ſecret way to ſecure the Perſon of General* Monk, *and to ſend him up to* London *under a ſtrong Guard, in a Frigat that lay in* Leith *Road; and then to take upon him the Command of the Army, till further Order.*

Having taken out this, and what other *Letters* he thought fit, together with his own from the ſame *Committee*, full of high Compliments, and Expreſſions of Truſt, he ſent away the Packet as it was directed. But having communicated the matter to ſome of his particular Friends, he gave Orders for a *General Review* of the Army to be made next morning at *Edinburgh*, where he arreſted Colonel *Wilks*, and ſome other Officers he

had reaſon to ſuſpect, and ſent them Priſoners to the *Caſtle*; filling up their *Commiſſions* with others of his own Creatures.

Monk in his March through *England*, and after he came to *London*, carried on the Thread of Diſſimulation with wonderful dexterity, till all things were fully ripe for throwing off the *Mask*, and calling home the King. As he was ſingularly happy in being the Chief Inſtrument of that *Revolution*, he was no leſs in the Senſe King *Charles* continued to expreſs, of ſo great an Obligation. And it ſhow'd him to be a Man of true Judgmen, That the *Duke of Albemarle* behav'd himſelf in ſuch a manner to the Prince he had thus oblig'd, as never to ſeem to overvalue the Services of *General Monk*.

King Charles the Second prov'd one of the Fineſt Gentlemen of the Age, and had Abilities to make one of the Beſt of Kings. The firſt Years of his Reign were a continued *Jubilee*. And while we were reaping the Fruits of Peace at Home, after the Miſeries of a long *Civil War*, a Potent Neighbour was laying the Foundation of a *Power* Abroad, that has

ſince

ſince been the Envy and Terror of *Europe*. One might have thought that his *Parliament* had glutted his Ambition to the full, by heaping thoſe *Prerogatives* upon him, which had been contested for with his Father, at the Expence of ſo much Blood and Treaſure: But he graſp'd early after more; and from his firſt Acceſſion to the Crown, ſhow'd but little Inclination to depend upon Parliaments. Of which we have a remarkable Inſtance in an Affair that was one of the true Cauſes of the Diſgrace of that Great Man, *Chancellor Clarendon*, which happen'd a few Years after.

It looks as if Heaven took a more than ordinary Care of *England*, that we did not throw up our Liberties all at once, upon the *Reſtoration* of that King; for though ſome were for bringing him back upon *Terms*, yet after he was once come, he poſſeſs'd ſo entirely the Hearts of his People, that they thought nothing was too much for them to grant, or for him to receive. Among other Deſigns to pleaſe him, there was one form'd at *Court*, to ſettle ſuch a *Revenue* upon him by Parliament during Life, as ſhould place him beyond the Neceſſity of asking more, except in the Caſe of a War, or ſome

ſome ſuch extraordinary Occaſion. The Earl of *Southampton*, *Lord High Treaſurer*, came heartily into it, out of a mere Principle of Honour and Affection to the King; but *Chancellor Clarendon* ſecretly oppos'd it. It happen'd that they two had a private Conference about the matter; and the *Chancellor* being earneſt to bring the *Treaſurer* to his Opinion, took the freedom to tell him, That he was better acquainted with the King's Temper and Inclinations, than *Southampton* could reaſonably expect to be, having had long and intimate Acquaintance with his Majeſty abroad; and that he knew him ſo well, that if ſuch a Revenue was once ſettled upon him for Life, *neither of them Two would be of any further uſe; and that they were not in probability to ſee many more* Seſſions *of* Parliament *during that Reign.* *Southampton* was brought over; but this Paſſage could not be kept ſo ſecret, but it came to King *Charles* his Ears, which together with other things wherein *Clarendon* was miſrepreſented to him, prov'd the true reaſon why he abandon'd him to his Enemies.

Notwithſtanding this diſappointment, King *Charles* made a ſhift, partly by his obliging Carriage, partly by other *Inducements*,

ments, to get more Money from his firſt Parliament towards the Expence of his Pleaſures, than all his Predeceſſors of the *Norman Race* had obtain'd before, towards the Charges of their Wars. This Parliament had like to have been *Perpetual*, if the Vigor wherewith they began to proſecute the *Popiſh Plot*, and the Reſentment they expreſs'd againſt his *Brother*, had not oblig'd him, much againſt his Will, to part with them, after they had ſat near Nineteen Years.

The Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot.

That there was at that time a *Popiſh Plot*, and that there always has been one ſince the *Reformation*, to ſupport, if not reſtore the *Romiſh Religion* in *England*, ſcarce any body calls in queſtion. How far the near Proſpect of a *Popiſh Succeſſor* ripen'd the Hopes, and gave new Vigor to the Deſigns of that *Party*; and what Methods they were then upon, to bring thoſe Deſigns about, *Coleman*'s *Letters* alone, without any other concurring Evidence, are more than ſufficient to put the matter out of doubt. But what *Superſtructures* might have been afterwards built upon an unqueſtionable Foundation; and how far ſome of the *Witneſſes* of that *Plot* might come to darken Truth by ſubſequent Addtions of their own, muſt

must be deferr'd till *the Great Account*, to be made before a *Higher Tribunal:* And till then, a great part of the *Popiſh Plot*, as it was then ſworn to, will in all human probability lye *among the darkeſt Scenes of our* Engliſh *Hiſtory*. However, this is certain, the Diſcovery of the *Popiſh Plot* had great and various Effects upon the Nation: And it's from this remarkable Period of Time, we may juſtly reckon a New *Æra* in the *Engliſh* Account.

Its Effects. In the firſt place, it awaken'd the Nation out of a deep Lethargy they had been in, for Nineteen Years together; and alarm'd them with *Fears* and *Jealouſies* that have been found to our ſad Experience but too well grounded. In the next, it gave the Riſe too, at leaſt ſettled that unhappy diſtinction of *Whig* and *Tory* among the People of *England*, that has ſince occaſion'd ſo many Miſchiefs. And laſtly, the Diſcovery of the *Popiſh Plot* began that open *Struggle* between King *Charles* and his People, that occaſion'd him not only to diſſolve his firſt *Favourite Parliament*, and the Three others that ſucceeded; but likewiſe to call no more during the reſt of his Reign. All which made way for bringing in queſtion the *Charters* of *London*, and other *Corpo-*

Corporations, with a great many diſmal Effects that follow'd. It was likewiſe about this time, that a certain *Set* of Men began a ſecond time to adopt into our Religion a *Mahometan Principle*, under the Names of *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance*; which ſince the time of the *Impoſtor* that firſt broach'd it, has been the means to Enſlave a great part of the World.

The great ſhare which the *Duke of York* was ſuppos'd to have had very early, in a Deſign to overturn our *Religion* and *Liberties*; and the mighty Hopes which the near Proſpect of a *Popiſh Succeſſor* gave the *Roman-Catholicks*, of bringing about their *Grand Project of rooting out the* Northern *Hereſy*, were the Reaſons why a great part of Both *Houſes* of Parliament had recourſe to a *Bill of Excluſion* againſt the *Duke*, as the only effectual means they could think on in that Juncture, to prevent our intended Ruin. This Prince had been privately *reconcil'd* to *Rome* in the time of his *Exile:* But it ſeems it was not thought convenient he ſhould declare himſelf till ſeveral Years after. And though he had abandon'd the Worſhip of the Church of *England*, it was accounted a heinous Crime to ſay he

The Bill of Excluſion.

he was a *Roman-Catholick*, when every body knew that he was one; and ſome were *Fin'd* in great Sums of Money for ſaying it. King *Charles*'s Converſion (if we believe *Huddleſton* the Prieſt) was of an older Date: But, if true, he either wanted Courage, or thought it not his Intereſt to declare himſelf in his Life-time. If he had any deſign of introducing *Popery*, he knew the Temper of the Nation too well, to imagine it could be brought about in a ſhort time, or by ſuch open and barefac'd Methods as his *Brother* was pleas'd afterwards to put in practice.

But the truth is, King *Charles* was neither *Bigot* enough to any Religion, nor lov'd his Eaſe ſo little, as to embark in a Buſineſs that muſt at leaſt have diſturb'd his *Quiet*, if not hazarded his *Crown*. The *Romiſh Emiſſaries* knowing this, were reſolv'd to make ſure of one of the Brothers: And the *Duke* was now the *Riſing Sun*; King *Charles* having no proſpect of Iſſue by the *Queen*. It was not the *Roman-Catholicks* alone, that began to pay him their Early Devotions; there were others that came nothing ſhort of them in their Addreſſes to him. He had in the time of his Baniſhment, and after the *Reſtoration*, acquir'd the Reputation of

of being Brave, and skill'd in the Art of War: *Flanders* and the *Ocean* were the *Theatres* on which he had given unqueſtionable Proofs of both; having Commanded the *Spaniſh Horſe* in the *one*, and the *Engliſh Fleet* on the *other*. From a Prince thus poſſeſs'd of a Warlike Character, and thus devoted to the *See* of *Rome*, it was no wonder the *Roman Catholicks* expected, and the *Proteſtants* fear'd ſome extraordinary Change in *England*, if ever he ſhould come to wear the Crown. And therefore as it was the Intereſt of the *firſt* to have him upon the Throne, ſo it was equally the Intereſt of the *latter* to exclude him from it.

It's ſaid King *Charles* came in at firſt to the *Bill of Excluſion*, or ſeem'd to do ſo. The *Favourite Miſtreſs* was prevail'd with, from ſecret Motives and Proſpects of her own, to concur with others in perſuading him to abandon his *Brother*; and waving the *Duke*'s Right, to accept of an *Act of Parliament* in his own favour, like that made in the Reign of *Henry* VIII. by which he ſhould have a Power inveſted in him, *to diſpoſe of the Crown at his Death, under ſuch Reſtrictions and Limitations as ſhould be agreed on.*

Whether

Whether any ſuch *Act* was really intended, it's hard to determine; but it's certain ſuch an Offer was made to King *Charles*, with a Promiſe of a conſiderable Sum of Money, towards the ſupplying his preſſing Wants. It's likewiſe certain, that King *Charles* ſeem'd willing to accept of it; till it happen'd that a *Foreign Court*, whoſe Intereſt it was to ſupport the *Duke of York*, ſtruck up a Bargain with the King, to give him more Money for *refuſing*, than had been offer'd him for *conſenting* to the *Bill of Excluſion*.

Some time before the *Popiſh Plot* came upon the *Stage*, King *Charles* had been prevail'd with to Marry the *Eldeſt* of his *Nieces* to the *Prince of Orange*, as he did afterwards the *Youngeſt* to the *Prince of Denmark:* The happieſt Actions of his Life, and by which he made a ſufficient Attonement for all the Errors of his Reign. It were Ingratitude to enquire too narrowly into the Motives that induc'd him to theſe *Matches:* It's enough to entail a laſting Honour on his Name, that he did it, and did it againſt the Advice of his Brother, and in ſpight of all the Sollicitations that were made to him from Abroad, to marry them to Princes of the *Romiſh* Religion. The Parliament had

had in their view the *Princeſs of Orange*, in the *Bill of Excluſion*; and it was She and the *Prince* her Husband that were to have fill'd the Throne, upon the Death of their Uncle. But King *Charles* either not daring, or not willing to conſent to the *Bill*, he diſſolv'd both that and the next Parliament at *Oxford*, merely to ward off the Blow that threaten'd his Brother.

After the Diſſolution of the *Oxford Parliament*, King *Charles* ſhew'd but little Inclination to call any more; and was prevail'd with to enter into harſher Meaſures than hitherto he had taken; and which ſeem'd contrary to his Natural Goodneſs and Temper. The *Charters* of the City of *London*, and other *Corporations*, ſtood in the way of an *Abſolute Government*; and it was reſolv'd to break through this *Barrier*. In order to which, *Quo Warranto's* were brought againſt them; and in progreſs of time they were either ſurrendred by the *Corporations* themſelves, or vacated in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, by a Set of *Judges* pickt out for that purpoſe. And it was reſolv'd thereby to make one of the *Eſtates* of Parliament depend entirely upon the *Will* and *Nomination* of the Prince.

While theſe *Quo Warranto's* were going on, whole Peals of *Anathema's* were rung out againſt thoſe *Patriots* that had ſtood up for the Liberties of their Countrey in the preceding Parliaments. And it was look'd upon as a Crime againſt the State, for any one to regret the approaching Fate of his Countrey. Even the *Holy Scriptures* themſelves were made a *Stale* for *Arbitrary Power*; and the Laws which were given to the *Jews* as they were a *Political State*, were now brought in upon every occaſion, to countenance the Deſigns of the Court. As if thoſe Laws which were intended only to ſupport the Political Government of the *Jews*, were the real Foundation of the Chriſtian Religion; or that the Conſtitution of *England* was founded upon the *Jewiſh Doctrine*. All which was not much for the Honour of thoſe Gentlemen that broach'd that Notion. This was a Time never to be forgot, when to wiſh well to our Countrey, was a Crime; and when Heaven it ſelf was rank'd upon our Enemies ſide, by ſome that pretended to expound its Will. In ſome places a new kind of *Funeral Harangues* came in faſhion: Our *Laws*, our *Liberties*, our *Parliaments*, our *Native Rights* were to be buried;

buried; but inſtead of dropping a Tear at their *Funeral*, fulſom *Panegyricks* were made upon their Murtherers, and Curſes denounc'd againſt thoſe that would have retriev'd them from Deſtruction.

The Diſgrace of the Duke of *Monmouth*, and its Conſequences.

All theſe Tranſactions were attended with the Publick Diſgrace of the *Duke of Monmouth*. This Gentleman ſtood poſſeſs'd of all the Qualities requiſite to gain the Love of the People, and ſtir up the Jealouſy of the *Duke of York*. King *Charles* had heap'd *Honours* upon him; and nothing pleas'd him ſo much as to ſee him *Great*. He had been ſent to *Scotland* in the Year 1678, to ſuppreſs an *Inſurrection* which the Severity of *Lauderdale*'s *Adminiſtration* had occaſion'd; where his Lenity towards a People made by Oppreſſion mad, gain'd him the ill will of a Predominant Party at *Court*. The Zeal he ſhew'd ſome time after in the proſecution of the *Popiſh Plot*, and his Friendſhips with ſome that were profeſs'd Enemies to the *Duke*, concurr'd to his Fall. Yet King *Charles* ſtill continued underhand the ſame Tenderneſs for him; though he was declar'd in Publick to be in Diſgrace. The Duke's *Faction* at home, and a *Foreign Intereſt* abroad, were too powerful for King *Charles* to

grapple with, even though the Fortune of a *Favourite Son* was at ſtake.

The more he was depreſs'd by the Envy of his Uncle, the higher he roſe in the Affections of the People; till the breaking out of what was call'd the *Proteſtant Plot*, overwhelm'd not only him, but a whole *Party* with him. This Plot was in ſome part a greater *Myſtery* than the Popiſh Plot had been before, and had more diſmal Effects. The ſhatter'd Remains of *Engliſh* Liberty were then attack'd on every ſide; and ſome of the *Nobleſt Blood* in the Nation was offer'd up a Sacrifice to the *Manes* of Popiſh Martyrs, and made to atone for *the Bill of Excluſion*. *Swearing* came once more into Faſhion, and a New *Evidence-Office* was erected at *Whitehall*. But whereas the *Witneſſes* of the *Popiſh Plot* were brow-beaten and diſcourag'd, thoſe of the *Proteſtant Plot* were highly encourag'd; and inſtead of *Judges* and *Juries* that might perhaps boggle at *half-Evidence*, as it fell out in the Proſecution of the former; care was taken in this to pick out ſuch as ſhould ſtick at nothing to ſerve a Turn. It was by ſuch *Judges* and *Juries* that the Lord *Ruſſel* and Mr. *Sidney* fell; and the cutting off thoſe

The Proteſtant Plot.

Two

Two Noble Lives, may be reckon'd among the firſt Triumphs of the Duke's Party in *England*.

It's true, King *Charles* ſeem'd inclin'd to pardon both the one and the other; and the very day the Lord *Ruſſel* was executed, ſome Words eſcap'd him, that ſhow'd ſufficiently his Irreſolution in that matter: But by this time he was too far gone, to make a handſome Retreat on a ſudden; and there was obſervable ever after, a ſenſible Change in his Temper; for from an Eaſineſs and Debonairneſs that was natural to him, he came at length to treat men with *Hard Names*, and upon ſome occaſions to expreſs a Severity in his Diſpoſition, that he had been ever averſe to before.

The reſt of that Reign was one continued *Invaſion* upon the *Rights* of the People; and the Nation ſeem'd unwilling now to contend for them any more. King *Charles*, notwithſtanding his great Abilities and Fitneſs for buſineſs, appear'd to be quite lull'd aſleep with the Charms of a new ſwell'd-up *Prerogative*; while ſome of our *Neighbours* were playing their Game, to the Prejudice of *England* abroad, and the *Duke*'s Creatures were managing all things to their own mind at home.

Nature prevail'd upon King *Charles* at length; and the ſhame of ſeeing himſelf impos'd upon by others far ſhort of him in Parts; and that the *Court* was anticipating his Death, by their Addreſſes to his Brother, as if he had been already King, did help to awake him out of his Slumber, and brought him to lay a Project for a mighty Change in the Affairs of *England*, which probably might have made both him and the Nation happy. If he had liv'd but a few Weeks longer, *Monmouth* had been recall'd to *Court*, the Duke of *York* had been ſent beyond Sea, and a New *Parliament* conven'd. But what further was to follow, muſt be buried with his Aſhes, there being nothing left us, but bare Suſpicions of what might have been. This is certain, his Death came opportunely for the *Duke*; and in ſuch a Manner, and with ſuch Circumſtances, as will be a Problem to Poſterity, whether he died a Natural Death, or was haſten'd to his Grave by Treachery.

The Death of King *Charles* II.

In ſo nice a Point as this is, it becomes one that would write Impartially, to ſet down with the exacteſt Fidelity, every thing of Moment of either ſide, that may determine the Reader in his Judgment, without venturing to give his own.

This

This Rule I have ſet to my ſelf, in laying down the following Particulars.

The Suſpicions about the Manner of it conſider'd

It's confeſt, few Princes come to dye a ſudden Death, but the World is apt to attribute it to Foul Play, eſpecially if attended with unuſual Circumſtances in the Time and Manner of it. King *Charles* had a healthful Conſtitution beyond moſt men, and took great care to preſerve it by Diet and Exerciſe, which naturally promiſe a long Life. And it was more extraordinary to ſee ſuch a Man dye before Threeſcore, than another in the Bloom of Youth. Now if he died a Natural Death, it's agreed by all, that it muſt have been an *Apoplexy*. This Diſeaſe ſeizes all the Vital Faculties at once; and yet for the moſt part, does not only give ſome ſhort Warnings of its Approach, by unuſual Affections of the Head, but many times is occaſion'd by ſome evident preceding Cauſe. In King *Charles*'s Caſe, there appear'd no viſible Cauſe, either *near* or *remote*, to which with any certainty of Reaſon, his Diſeaſe could be aſcrib'd; and the Forerunners of it were rather to be found in the Stomach and Bowels, than in the Head. For after he was a-bed, he was overheard to groan moſt of the Night: And

both then, and next Morning, before he fell into the *Fit*, he complain'd firſt of a heavy Oppreſſion in his Stomach, and about his Heart, and afterwards of a ſharp Pain in thoſe Parts; all which Symptoms had but little relation to an *Apoplexy*. That Morning there appear'd to every body about him a *Ghaſtlineſs* and *Paleneſs* in his Looks: And when he ſat down to be ſhav'd, juſt before the *Fit* took him, he could not ſit ſtraight, as he us'd to do, but continued in a ſtooping Poſture, with his Hand upon his Stomach, till the *Fit* came. After he had been brought out of it by opening a Vein, he complain'd of a Racking Pain in his Stomach, and of no Indiſpoſition any where elſe: And during the whole Time of his Sickneſs, and even when he ſeem'd moſt Inſenſible, he was obſerv'd to lay his Hand for the moſt part upon his Stomach, in a moaning Poſture, and continued ſo to his Death. And ſo violent was the Pain, that when all hopes were gone, the Phyſicians were deſir'd to uſe all their Art to procure him an *Eaſy Death*.

So much for the Diſtemper it ſelf: There remains ſome things to be taken notice of, that fell out before and after his Death. A few days before he was taken ill,

ill, King *Charles* being in Company where the preſent Poſture of Affairs was diſcours'd of, there eſcap'd him ſome warm Expreſſions about the uneaſy Circumſtances he was plung'd into, and the ill Meaſures had been given him: And how in a certain particular Affair he was pleas'd to mention, he had been abus'd: Adding in ſome Paſſion, *That if he liv'd but a Month longer, he would find a way to make himſelf eaſy for the reſt of his Life.* This Paſſage was whiſper'd abroad next day; and the Rumour of recalling the Duke of *Monmouth*, and ſending away the Duke of *York*, came to take Air about the ſame time. Indeed all things were making ready, to put the latter in execution; and there is reaſon to believe the King had intimated as much to the *Duke* himſelf; for ſome of his Richeſt Furniture was put up, and his chief Servants order'd to be in a readineſs to attend their Maſter upon an Hour's warning; and Yatchts were waiting to Tranſport ſome Perſon of Quality, without mentioning who it was, or whither bound. The *Romiſh* Party that manag'd about Court, were obſerv'd to be more than ordinary diligent and buſy up and down *Whitehall* and St. *James*'s, as if ſome very important Affair

Affair was in agitation; and a new and unuſual Concern was to be ſeen on their Countenances. Nor was it any wonder; for in this ſuſpected Change they were like to be the only Loſers, and all their teeming Hopes were in a fair way to be diſappointed. How far the Principles of ſome of that Party might leave them at liberty to puſh on their Revenge for this deſign'd Affront, as well as to prevent the Blow that threaten'd them, though without the Privacy, much leſs the Conſent of the Duke of *York*, is left to the Reader to judge.

There was a Foreign *Miniſter*, that ſome days before the King fell ill, order'd his Steward to buy a conſiderable Parcel of Black Cloth, which ſerv'd him and his Retinue after for Mourning: And the late Ambaſſador *Don Pedro Ranquillor*, made it no Secret, that he had a Letter from *Flanders* the Week before King *Charles* died, that took notice of his Death, as the News there. But both theſe might fall out by mere Accident.

There remains two things more, that deſerve ſome Conſideration in this matter. When his Body was open'd, there was not ſufficient time given for taking an exact Obſervation of his Stomach and Bowels;

Bowels; which one would think ought chiefly to have been done, conſidering the violent Pains he had there: And when a certain Phyſician ſeem'd to be more inquiſitive than ordinary about the Condition of thoſe Parts, he was taken aſide, and reprov'd for his *needleſs Curioſity*. In the next place, his Body ſtunk ſo extremely within a few Hours after his Death, notwithſtanding the Coldneſs of the Seaſon, that the People about him were extremely offended with the Smell: Which is a thing very extraordinary, in one of his ſtrong and healthful Conſtitution; and is not a proper Conſequent of a mere *Apoplectical* Diſtemper.

There was ſome Weight laid upon an Accident that fell out at *Windſor* ſome Years before his Death: For the King drinking more liberally than uſual, after the Fatigue of Riding, he retir'd to the next Room, and wrapping himſelf up in his Cloak, fell aſlep upon a Couch. He was but a little time come back to the Company, when a Servant belonging to one of them, lay down upon the ſame Couch, in the King's Cloak, and was found ſtabb'd dead with a Ponyard. Nor was it ever known how it happen'd, but the matter huſh'd up, and no Enquiry made about it.

To

To conclude; Dr. *Short*, who was a Man of great Probity and Learning, and a *Roman-Catholick*, made no ſcruple to declare his Opinion to ſome of his intimate Friends, That he believ'd King *Charles* had foul Play done him. And when he came to dye himſelf, expreſs'd ſome ſuſpicion that he had met with the ſame Treatment, for opening his mind too freely in that Point.

So much for the Circumſtances of King *Charles*'s Death, that ſeem to have an Ill Aſpect. There are others that ſeem to deſtroy all Suſpicions of Treachery in the matter.

As Firſt, He had liv'd ſo faſt, as might enervate in a great meaſure the Natural Force of his Conſtitution, and exhauſt his Animal Spirits; and therefore he might be more ſubject to an Apoplexy, which is a Diſeaſe that weakens and locks up theſe Spirits from performing their uſual Functions. And though in his later Years he had given himſelf more up to the Pleaſures of Wine than of Women, that might rather be the effect of Age, than of Choice.

Next, it's known he had been once or twice attack'd before, with *Fits* that much reſembled thoſe of which he afterwards

wards died: And yet as the manner of them is told, they look rather to have been *Convulsive Motions*, than an *Apoplexy*; seeing they were attended with violent Contorsions of his Face, and Convulsions of his whole Body and Limbs. This is the more confirm'd, by a Passage that happen'd during the Heat of the *Popish Plot*. King *Charles* had some secret Matter to manage at that time, by the means of a *Romish Priest* then beyond Sea, whom he order'd to be privately sent for: And the Gentleman employ'd betwixt the King and him (from whom I had the Story) was directed to bring him in a Disguise to *Whitehall*. The King and the Priest were a considerable time together alone in the Closet, and the Gentleman attended in the next Room: At last the Priest came out with all the marks of Fright and Astonishment in his Face; and having recover'd himself a little, he told the Gentleman, That he had run the greatest Risque ever man did; for while he was with the King, his Majesty was suddenly surpriz'd with a *Fit*, accompanied with violent Convulsions of his Body, and Contorsions of his Face, which lasted for some Moments; and when he was going

going to call out for help, the King held him by force till it was over, and then bid him not to be afraid, for he had been troubled with the like before; the Priest adding, what a condition he would have been in, considering his Religion, and the present Juncture of Affairs, if the King had died of that *Fit*, and no body in the Room with him besides himself.

But leaving this Story to the Credit of the Priest; there might be another Natural Cause assign'd for King *Charles*'s falling into such a Fit as that of which he died; which is this: He had had for some time an Issue in his Leg, which run much, and consequently must have made a great Revulsion from his Head, upon which account it's probable it was made. A few Weeks before his Death, he had let it be dried up, contrary to the Advice of his Physicians, who told him it would prejudice his Health. Their Prognostick was partly true in this, that there came a painful Tumor upon the place where the Issue had been, which prov'd very obstinate, and was not thoroughly heal'd up when he died.

In fine, it is agreed on all hands, that King *Charles* express'd no Suspicion of his being poyson'd, during all the time of his

his Sickneſs: Though it muſt be alſo obſerved, that his Fits were ſo violent, that he could not ſpeak when they were upon him, and ſhow'd an Averſion to ſpeaking during the Intervals. And there was not any thing to be ſeen upon opening his Body, that could reaſonably be attributed to the force of Poyſon. Yet to allow theſe Conſiderations no more weight than they can well bear, this muſt be acknowledg'd, That there are Poyſons which affect originally the Animal Spirits, and are of ſo ſubtle a nature, that they leave no concluding Marks upon the Bodies of thoſe they kill.

The Character of King *Charles* II.

Thus Reign'd, and thus Died King *Charles the Second*; a Prince endow'd with all the Qualities that might juſtly have rendred him the *Delight of Mankind*, and entitled him to the Character of one of the Greateſt *Genius*'s that ever ſat upon a Throne, if he had not ſullied thoſe Excellent Parts with the ſoft Pleaſures of Eaſe, and had not entertain'd a *Fatal Friendſhip*, that was *incompatible with the Intereſt of* England. His Religion was *Deiſm*, or rather that which is call'd ſo: And if in his *Exile*, or at his Death, he went into that of *Rome*; the firſt was to be imputed to a Complaiſance for

for the Company he was then oblig'd to keep, and the laſt to a lazy Diffidence in all other Religions, upon a Review of his paſt Life, and the near Approach of an uncertain State. His Perſon was Tall and well-made, his Conſtitution Vigorous and Healthy; and it's hard to determine, whether he took more pains to preſerve it by Diet and Exerciſe, or to impair it by Exceſs in his Pleaſures. In Health he was a great Pretender to Phyſick, and Encourager of *Quacks*, by whom he was often cheated of conſiderable Sums of Money for their *pretended Secrets:* But whenever he was indiſpos'd, he conſulted his Phyſicians, and depended on their Skill only.

His Face was compos'd of harſh Features, difficult to be trac'd with the Pencil; yet in the main it was agreeable; and he had a Noble *Majeſtick Mien*. In contradiction to all the common receiv'd Rules of *Phyſiognomy*, he was Merciful, Good-natur'd, and in the laſt Twenty four Years of his Life, Fortunate, if to ſucceed in moſt of his Deſigns, may be call'd ſo. Never Prince lov'd Ceremony leſs, or deſpis'd the Pageantry of a Crown more; yet he was Maſter of ſomething in his Perſon and Aſpect, that commanded

manded both Love and Veneration at once.

He was a great Votary to *Love*, and yet the eaſieſt and moſt unconcern'd *Rival*. He was for the moſt part not very nice in the choice of his *Miſtreſſes*, and ſeldom poſſeſs'd of their *Firſt Favours*; yet would ſacrifice all to pleaſe them; and upon every Caprice of theirs, denied himſelf the uſe of his Reaſon, and acted contrary to his Intereſt. He was a Reſpectful, Civil Husband; a Fond Father; a Kind Brother; an Eaſy Enemy; but none of the Firmeſt or moſt Grateful Friends: Bountiful by Starts; one day laviſh to his Servants; the next, leaving them to ſtarve: Glad to win a little Money at Play, and impatient to loſe but the thouſandth part of what within an hour after he would throw away in groſs. He ſeem'd to have had nothing of Jealouſy in his Nature, neither in Matters of *Love* nor *Power*. He bore patiently *Rivals* in the one, and *Competitors* in the other; otherwiſe he would not have contributed to a *Foreign Greatneſs at Sea*, nor given his Brother ſo uncontroul'd a ſhare in the *Government*.

Though his Underſtanding was quick and lively, with a vaſt Compaſs of

Thought, yet he would ſubmit his Judgment in greateſt Matters, to others of much inferior Parts: And as he had an extraordinary Share of Wit himſelf, ſo he lov'd it in others, even when pointed againſt his own Faults and Miſmanagements. He had read but little, yet he had a good Taſte of Learning, and would reaſon nicely upon moſt Sciences. The *Mechanicks* were one of his peculiar Talents, eſpecially the *Art of building and working of Ships*; which no body underſtood better, nor if he had liv'd, would have carried it farther. He had a ſtrong *Laconick* way of Expreſſion, and a Gentile, Eaſy, and Polite way of Writing: And when he had a mind to lay aſide the King, which he often did in ſelect Companies of his own, there were a thouſand irreſiſtible Charms in his Converſation. He lov'd Money only to ſpend it: And would privately accept of a ſmall Sum paid to himſelf, in lieu of a far greater to be paid into the Exchequer.

He lov'd not Buſineſs; and ſought every occaſion to avoid it; which was one reaſon that he paſt ſo much of his time with his Miſtreſſes: Yet when Neceſſity call'd him, none of his *Council* could reaſon more cloſely upon *Matters of State*; and

and he would often by fits outdo his *Miniſters* in Application and Diligence. No Age produc'd a greater Maſter in the Art of *Diſſimulation*; and yet no man was leſs upon his Guard, or ſooner deceiv'd in the Sincerity of others. If he had any one fix'd *Maxim* of Government, it was to play one Party againſt another, to be thereby the more Maſter of both: And no Prince underſtood better how to ſhift hands upon every Change of the Scene. To ſum up his Character, he was dextrous in all the Arts of *Inſinuation*; and had acquir'd ſo great an Aſcendant over the Affections of his People, in ſpite of all the unhappy Meaſures he had taken, that it may in ſome ſenſe be ſaid, He died opportunely for *England*; ſince if he had liv'd, it's probable we might in compliance with him have complimented our ſelves out of all the Remains of *Liberty*, if he had had but a mind to be Maſter of them; which it's but Charity to believe he had not, at leaſt immediately before his Death.

There is one thing more that may help to make up the Character of this Prince, That in the Lines and Shape of his Face (all but the Teeth) he had a great Reſemblance of the Ancient *Buſtoes* and

Statues we have of the *Emperor Tiberius*: Inſomuch that one of the moſt Learned Men of this Age told me, That walking in the *Furneſian Gardens* at *Rome*, with a *Noble Italian* that had been at the Court of *England*, he took notice of this Reſemblance in an *Antique Statue* of *Tiberius*; and asking the *Italian* if he remembred any Prince he had ſeen that reſembled it, the other immediately nam'd King *Charles*. As there was a great Likeneſs betwixt theſe Two Princes in their Faces, there was likewiſe ſome in their *Maxims of Government, the Time of their Age in which they came to govern, the Length of their Reigns, and the Suſpicions about the manner of their Death.* And indeed, excepting *Tiberius*'s Temper, his Cruelty, Jealouſy, and unnatural Luſts, any one that's acquainted with both their Stories, will eaſily find ſomething of a Parallel betwixt them. Nor is this any Reflection upon the Memory of King *Charles*; for except in what I nam'd, *Tiberius* may be reckon'd among the Wiſeſt and the Braveſt of thoſe that wore the *Imperial Purple.*

The Reign of King *James* II.

Upon King *Charles*'s Death, *James Duke of York* mounted the *Throne*, by the Name of King *James the Second.* All the

the former Heats and Animoſities againſt him, and even the very Memory of a *Bill of Excluſion*, ſeem'd to be now quite forgot, amidſt the loud Acclamations of his People at his Acceſſion to the Crown. He had many Years of Experience when he came to it; and few of his Predeceſſors could boaſt of the like Advantages: In moſt of the *Tranſactions* of the preceding Reign, he had born a conſiderable Share as to *Action*, but much more as to *Counſel* and *Influence*. In the Poſt of *Lord High Admiral of England*, he had large opportunities to be fully acquainted with the *Native Strength*, and peculiar Intereſt of the Nation, I mean the *Affairs of the Navy*; in which he had acquir'd deſervedly a great Reputation. He had met with but too many occaſions to underſtand the Genius and Temper of the People he was to govern, and to know how far it was impracticable to overturn the Eſtabliſh'd Religion, or to introduce a New one, for he had wreſtled through a great many Difficulties upon the account of his own. He could not but have a true value for his Brother's great Parts and Abilities, and be acquainted with the Arts by which he gain'd and preſerv'd the Affections of his People,

notwithſtanding all the Hardſhips he had been induc'd ſometimes to put upon them: And he had ſeen how fearful and averſe he had been to puſh things too far, or to drive his Subjects to Extremities.

He had before him the Fatal Example of a *Father*, who though he was a Proteſtant, yet upon a falſe Suſpicion of having a Deſign to introduce *Popery*, was ſent to his Grave by a violont Death; and he was almoſt a Man when that *Tragedy* happen'd, and had ſuffer'd Ten Years Baniſhment, among other Conſequences that attended it. He had been acquainted abroad with a Princeſs fam'd for Parts and Learning, who Reign'd her Crown, apprehending ſhe might be diveſted of it for embracing the *Romiſh* Religion, by thoſe very Subjects that held her before in the greateſt Veneration, both upon her own account, and that of a Father, who had rais'd them to the higheſt Pitch of Glory that ever the *Suediſh Nation* arriv'd to. And he might have remembred what his Mother ſaid upon her Return to *Somerſet-houſe* after the *Reſtoration*, *That if ſhe had known the Temper of the People of* England *ſome Years paſt, as well as ſhe did then, ſhe had never been oblig'd to leave*

Christina Q. of Sweden

leave that Houſe. But the Hiſtory of his *Anceſtors* might have more fully inform'd him, That thoſe that graſp'd at *Immoderate Power*, or a *Prerogative* above the Law, were always Unfortunate, and their Reigns Inglorious.

There was alſo a Paſſage at his Father's Death, which he would have done well to have obſerv'd: He deliver'd his *George* to Dr. *Juxon* upon the Scaffold, and bid him *Remember*, without ſaying more: The *Council of State* was willing to know the meaning of that Expreſſion, and call'd the Doctor before them, to give them an Account of it; who told them, *That the King immediately before his coming out to the Place of Execution, had charg'd him to carry to the Prince his Son, his* George, *with theſe his Two laſt Commands, That he ſhould forgive his Murtherers: And, That if he ever came to the Crown, he ſhould ſo govern his Subjects, as not to force them upon Extremities.*

Over and above all this; one of the beſt *Hiſtorians* of the Age, who had the advantage of all the late *Elector* of *Brandenburgh*'s *Papers* and *Memoirs*, acquaints us, That King *Charles* the Second delivering to King *James* at his Death the Key of his *Strong Box*, advis'd him *not* *Puffendorf ut ſupra.*

to think upon introducing the Romiſh *Religion into* England, *it being a thing that was both dangerous and impracticable.* And that the late *Don Pedro Ronquillor*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, at his firſt Audience after the Death of King *Charles*, having ask'd leave to ſpeak his mind freely upon that occaſion, made bold to tell him, That *he ſaw ſeveral Prieſts about him, that he knew would importune him to alter the Eſtabliſh'd Religion in* England; *but he wiſh'd his Majeſty would not give Ear to their Advice; for if he did, he was afraid his Majeſty would have reaſon to repent of it when it was too late.* This Author tells us, That King *James* took ill the Freedom of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador; and ask'd him in Paſſion, Whether in *Spain* they adviſ'd with their Confeſſors? *Yes, Sir,* (anſwer'd *Ronquillor*) *we do, and that's the reaſon our Affairs go ſo ill.*

Pope *Innocent* XIth's Letter to K. *James.*

The ſame Hiſtorian does likewiſe inform us (but he does not tell us upon what grounds), That Pope *Innocent* XI. writ a *Letter* to King *James* upon his Acceſſion to the Crown, to this purpoſe, *That he was highly pleas'd with his Majeſty's Zeal for the Catholick Religion; but he was afraid his Majeſty might puſh it too far, and inſtead of contributing to his own Greatneſs,*

neſs, and to the Advancement of the Catholick Church, he might come to do both It and himſelf the greateſt Prejudice, by attempting that which his Holineſs was well aſſur'd from long Experience, could not ſucceed. This Letter does very well agree with what I ſhall have occaſion to mention afterwards, concerning the Earl of *Caſtlemain*'s *Embaſſy* to *Rome*.

How far he profited by all theſe Advantages on the one hand, and Examples and Advices on the other, will appear in the Sequel.

The firſt *Speech* he made as King, the day his Brother died, gave hopes of a Happy Reign; and even thoſe that had appear'd with the greateſt Warmth againſt him before, were willing now to own themſelves to have been miſtaken, and were ready to expreſs their Repentance for what was paſt. For he told them, *That ſince it had pleas'd Almighty God to place him in that Station, and that he was now to ſucceed to ſo good and gracious a King, as well as ſo very kind a Brother, he thought fit to declare to them, That he would endeavour to follow his Example, and eſpecially in that of his great Clemency and Tenderneſs to his People: And that though he had been reported to be a Man for Arbitra-*

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ry Power, yet he was reſolv'd to make it his Endeavour to preſerve the Government of England *both in Church and State, as it was then Eſtabliſh'd by Law. That he knew the Principles of the Church of* England *were for Monarchy; and that the Members of it had ſhow'd themſelves good and Loyal Subjects; therefore he would always take care of it, and defend and ſupport it. That he knew that the Laws of* England *were ſufficient to make the King as Great a Monarch as he could wiſh: And that as he would never depart from the juſt Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, ſo he would never invade any man's Property.* Concluding, That *as he had often hitherto ventur'd his Life in defence of this Nation, ſo he was reſolv'd to go as far as any man in preſerving it in all its juſt Rights and Liberties.*

If a *Trajan* or an *Antoninus* had been to lay down a Scheme of *Government* to make their People happy, they could not have done it in better Terms; nor could the Nation well deſire, or in reaſon wiſh for more. If his ſubſequent Actions had come up to it, he had eterniz'd his Name, and might have reviv'd in himſelf the Memory of thoſe of his *Anceſtors* who have deſervedly given them by Poſterity, the Character of *Good* and *Great*.

This

This promiſing *Speech* was not many days old, nor King *Charles*'s Aſhes well cold, when the Nation was alarm'd with a *Proclamation* for *levying that part of the Cuſtoms that had been granted to his Brother only for Life*, and was expir'd at his Death. This was not only an open Violation of his *Promiſe* in his forementiond *Speech*, but of our *Fundamental Conſtitution*, by which no Money can be levied on the Subject, but by their Conſent in Parliament. As it was contrary to Law, ſo it was altogether needleſs at that time, ſince a Parliament was to meet within a few days, which no body doubted would in a Parliamentary way continue the ſame Cuſtoms for his Life, as they had been for his Brother's.

He was not the firſt Prince that did illegally ſeize what he had no right to: But few Inſtances can be given of a King that did openly violate the Conſtitution of his Countrey, to obtain that which he was certain would be granted him in a Legal Manner, and with the Goodwill of his People.

Notwithſtanding this unuſual Stretch of Power upon his entring into the *Adminiſtration*, yet the Parliament he had call'd ſat down in a good Humour, and with

with a hearty Inclination to do every thing in compliance with him, that might tend to his Honour or Safety. His *Speech* to both *Houſes* was much of the ſame Strain with his former to the *Council* upon his Brother's death, but more full. *He demanded the ſetling of his Revenue during Life, as it was in his Brother's time; and acquainted them with the Earl of* Argyle's *Landing in* Scotland; *and threaten'd to reward his Treaſon as it deſerv'd.*

This *Speech* buoy'd up the Minds of the People that had been ſufficiently ſtunn'd before with the Unpreſidented *Proclamation* for levying the Cuſtoms: And ſo earneſt was the Parliament to give the King no juſt occaſion of Diſpleaſure, and ſo great a Confidence did they place in a *Royal Promiſe* from the Throne, that they immediately complied with him in the matter of the *Revenue*, thank'd him for his Speech, and reſolv'd by an Unanimous Vote, *To aſſiſt him with their Lives and Fortunes againſt the Earl of* Argyle, *and all other his Enemies whatſoever.*

Some few days after, the *Bill* for ſetling his *Revenue*, was preſented to him for his *Aſſent*; upon which Occaſion he made

made them another *Memorable Speech:* He thank'd them for the Bill; told them of *want of Stores in the Navy and Ordnance*; *of the Anticipations that were upon ſeveral Branches of the Revenue*; *of the Debts due to his Brother's Servants and Family*; which he ſaid *were ſuch as deſerv'd Compaſſion*; *and of the extraordinary Charges he muſt be at in ſuppreſſing the Rebellion in* Scotland: Upon all which accounts he demanded an Extraordinary *Supply*; and ſumm'd up all, with recommending to them the Care of the Navy, which he was pleas'd to call *the Strength and Glory of the Nation:* And in the end told them, *He could not expreſs his Concern upon that occaſion more ſuitable to his own thoughts of it, than by aſſuring them, He had a true* Engliſh *Heart, as jealous of the Honour of the Nation, as Theirs could be: And that he pleas'd himſelf with the Hopes, That by God's Bleſſing and the Parliament's Aſſiſtance, he might carry the Reputation of it higher in the World, than ever it had been in the time of any of his Anceſtors.*

Appendix, Numb. 12. His Speech to the Parliament.

It was no wonder that a *Speech* of this Strain, ſo becoming an *Engliſh Monarch*, did meet with a kind Reception from an *Engliſh Parliament*, and be anſwer'd as it

was,

was, with a large *Supply*; since a *Neighbouring Court* was thereupon at a stand what to think of a Prince they had reckon'd upon as their *own*, and of whose real Friendship this unexpected *Speech* gave them ground to doubt. They well knew that a true *English* Heart was diametrically opposite to their Designs; and that a King jealous of the Honour of the *English* Nation, must needs be an Enemy to all Encroachments of any Neighbouring State. To plunge that Court yet the more into a Maze of Thoughts about King *James* upon this Occasion, the *carrying the Reputation of* England *yet higher in the World than ever it had been in the time of any of his Ancestors*, were Words that seem'd to promise no less than the imitating, or rather outdoing of an *Edward* III. or a *Henry* V. that had rais'd to themselves immortal *Trophies*, at the Expence of their Neighbours, and wrote their own Panegyricks with their Enemies Blood.

How this Speech was reliſh'd abroad, cannot be better expreſs'd, than in Two *Letters* writ at that time by a certain Great *Miniſter*, to an *Ambaſſador* here, which being communicated to me by a *Noble Perſon*, into whoſe hands many of that

that Ambaſſador's *Papers* happen'd to fall upon the late *Revolution*, they are plac'd at length in the *Appendix*, in *Engliſh*. *Appendix*, Numb. 13.

In the firſt of theſe *Letters*, That Miniſter diſcovers a ſort of diffidence in King *James*, *as if he were not the Man they had taken him for.* Expreſſes his Fears, that *a Cordial Agreement between him and the Parliament, might unhindge all the Meaſures had been ſo long a concerting betwixt him and his Maſter, when King* James *was but Duke of* York. He recommends to the Ambaſſador, *to enquire narrowly into the Motives and the Adviſers of this Speech to the Parliament*, as the moſt conſiderable Service that could be done in that Juncture.

The other *Letter* chides the Ambaſſador, for *not being yet able to ſound King* James's *Intentions*; and tells him, They *had receiv'd from a ſure hand better News than what it appears the Ambaſſador had writ.* And which is moſt remarkable in the whole Letter, there is in it a plain Inſinuation, *That there was in that Court ſome great matter under conſideration, concerning the Edict of* Nants, *which was not to be declar'd until King* James's *Intentions were fully known.* And concludes with a Command to the Ambaſſador, *to ſift out how*

how King James *ſtood affected to the Prince of* Orange.

What diſcoveries were made in obedience to theſe *Letters*, can be no otherwiſe gueſs'd at but by the *Event*; for at this very time the Unfortunate *Duke of Monmouth*, by a deſperate, ill-tim'd Attempt to overturn King *James*'s Throne, did all that in him lay, to fix it the faſter.

King *Charles*, as I have ſaid, lov'd *Monmouth* tenderly; and all the Diſgraces and Hardſhips that had of late Years been put upon him, were rather the effects of Fear and Policy, than Inclination or Choice. He was fond of him to that degree, that though he was the greateſt Maſter in the Art of Diſſimulation, yet he could not refrain ſometimes in Company where he might be free, from regretting his own hard Fortune, which neceſſitated him to frown upon a Son, whoſe greateſt Crime was to have incurr'd his Brother's Diſpleaſure.

His Fondneſs was yet more expreſs'd in his Behaviour to the *Duke of Monmouth*, upon the Diſcovery of that which was call'd the *Proteſtant Plot*, and in the manner he brought him back to *Court*, after the Ferment was a little abated. All the

the time *Monmouth* was abſconding, and when there was a *Proclamation* out for apprehending him, King *Charles* not only knew where he was, and ſent him Meſſages every day, but ſaw him ſeveral times in private. When the *Duke*'s Anger was a little appeas'd by the Sacrifices that were offer'd up to it, King *Charles* thought it was then time to have his *Son* once again about him. In order to which, he ſo manag'd the matter, that *Monmouth* ſhould owe the Favour to the *Duke of York*, and that his Pardon ſhould be granted merely at the *Duke*'s Interceſſion.

The Night he appear'd firſt at *Court* upon his Reconciliation, King *Charles* was ſo little Maſter of himſelf, that he could not diſſemble a mighty Joy in his Countenance, and in every thing he did or ſaid. Inſomuch, that it was the publick Talk about Town, and ſtrongly inſinuated to the *Duke of York*, That all the King's former Proceedings againſt the *Duke of Monmouth*, were but *Grimace*, and that his Royal Highneſs being made the Inſtrument of the Reconciliation, was all but a Trick put upon him. This ſo far incens'd the *Duke*, that he never reſted till King *Charles* was prevail'd with

to demand of *Monmouth* the Publication of a Paper which he had ſign'd under Truſt, and with an Aſſurance given him that it ſhould never be made publick; which the Party about the *Duke* knew *Monmouth* would not conſent to, as being againſt his Honour. They were not miſtaken, for *Monmouth* refus'd it; and upon his Refuſal was diſgrac'd once again.

King *Charles*'s Kindneſs ended not here, but attended him to *Holland*, whither he was oblig'd to retire. He found ſecret means to furniſh him with Money, and ſent him Meſſages from time to time, and ſometimes writ to him with his own Hand. He could not bear any hard thing to be ſaid of him in his abſence; and ſome officious *Courtiers* found to their Coſt that it was not the way to make their Fortune, to aggravate *Monmouth*'s Crimes: Nor did the King take any thing more kindly, than the Noble Reception *Monmouth* receiv'd from a *Prince of his Blood* in a Foreign Countrey, when he was forc'd to abandon his own.

King *Charles*, tir'd out at laſt with the uncontroul'd Hardſhips that were every day put upon him by the Duke's *Creatures*, and aſham'd to ſee his own Luſtre obſcur'd, and his Power leſſen'd by

by a Party that had rais'd themſelves upon *Monmouth*'s Ruin, he reſolv'd to ſhift the Scene; and in order to *make himſelf eaſy for the reſt of his Life*, as he expreſs'd it, he determin'd to ſend away the *Duke of York*, and recall the *Duke of Monmouth*.

April was the time agreed on to put this Reſolution in practice; but there is little left us, by which we can judge whether *Monmouth* was to be recall'd to *Court* by a formal Invitation of the King's, or whether King *Charles*'s uſual Thread of Diſſimulation was to be ſpun out to that length, that *Monmouth* was to Land with an *Arm'd Force*. The firſt ſeems more probable, if it were but for what he has writ himſelf in the *Pocket-Book*, which there will be occaſion to mention hereafter. It's true, the laſt looks more of a piece with the reſt of his Behaviour towards his *Brother* and *Son*, and more agreeable to his Natural Biaſs, which ſeldom inclin'd him to chuſe the *High Road*, when there could poſſibly be found a *By-Path* to tread in.

But Death put a ſudden ſtop to all King *Charles*'s Deſigns and *Monmouth*'s Hopes; and at the ſame time warded off a Blow that threaten'd the *Duke of York* ſo near. And *Monmouth* being juſt ready to riſe

higher than ever, was left by all his good Stars, which ſet with that *Royal Sun* that gave them Birth and Heat.

I would not be miſtaken here, as if I were of opinion that in this New *Turn* that was upon the Anvil immediately before the Death of King *Charles*, there was any Deſign of altering the *Succeſſion*, or bringing *Monmouth* within the View of a *Crown*: The whole Courſe of King *Charles*'s Actions does ſufficiently contradict any ſuch thought: And though *Monmouth* was afterwards prevail'd with by a headſtrong Party about him, to aſſume the Title of King, yet it's next to a Certainty, that all that was originally aim'd at by King *Charles* and the Duke of *Monmouth*, was only to weaken the *Duke of York*'s Faction, which was then become inſupportable, by playing *Monmouth*'s Party againſt it; which was conſiſtent with the only fix'd *Maxim* of Government in that Reign, *That when any one Party grew too ſtrong, to throw in the Royal Weight into the lighteſt Scale.*

Monmouth was ſufficiently ſtunn'd with this unexpected Change in his Fortune, by the Death of King *Charles*: But his great Courage and vain Confidence in a Popular Affection and Aſſiſtance, bore him

him up againſt all Difficulties, and prompted him on to attempt by Force of Arms, what was never deſign'd him by King *Charles*.

With Three ſmall Ships, and about an Hundred and fifty Men, the *Duke* landed in the *Weſt* of *England*, the Parliament ſitting. A Romantick kind of Invaſion, and ſcarce parallel'd in Hiſtory: Yet with this Handful of Men, and the common People that join'd him, without Arms, Proviſions, Martial Diſcipline, Money, or any one Place of Strength to retire to, in caſe of Accidents, did this Brave Unfortunate Man bid fair for a Crown: And if his Ill Fate had not plac'd a *Battalion* of *Dumbarton*'s Regiment in his way, he had in all probability ſurpriz'd the King's Army in their Camp, and perhaps at that ſingle Blow decided the Fortune of *England* for once. Yet this Attempt may be ſaid to have pav'd the Way for a Nobler Change in the Throne, by leaving King *James* at liberty through this Succeſs to act without Controul, what at length tumbled him down.

Monmouth paid the Price of his Rebellion with his Blood: And King *James* in ordering him to be brought into his Pre-

ſence under the Sentence of Death, was pleas'd to make one Exception againſt a General Rule obſerv'd inviolably among Kings, *Never to allow a Criminal under the Sentence of Death, the ſight of his Prince's Face, without a deſign to pardon him.*

There is nothing deliver'd concerning this Unfortunate Gentleman, but what I have unqueſtionable Grounds for, and which ſome Perſons yet alive, of the Firſt *Quality*, know to be true. But of the moſt things above mention'd, there is an infallible Proof extant under *Monmouth*'s own Hand, in a little *Pocket-Book* which was taken with him, and deliver'd to King *James*; which by an Accident is needleſs to mention here, I had leave to copy, and did it in part. A great many dark Paſſages there are in it, and ſome clear enough, that ſhall be eternally buried for me: And perhaps it had been for King *James*'s Honour to have committed them to the Flames, as *Julius Cæſar* is ſaid to have done upon a like occaſion. All the uſe that ſhall be made of it, is only to give in the *Appendix* ſome few Paſſages out of it, that refer to this Subject, and confirm what has been above related.

Appendix, Numb. 14.

Monmouth

Monmouth ſeem'd to be born for a better Fate; for the firſt part of his Life was all Sunſhine, though the reſt was clouded. He was Brave, Generous, Affable, and extremely Handſome: Conſtant in his Friendſhips, juſt to his Word, and an utter Enemy to all ſort of Cruelty. He was eaſy in his Nature, but fond of Popular Applauſe, which led him inſenſibly into all his Misfortunes: But whatever might be the hidden Deſigns of ſome *working Heads* he embark'd with, his own were Noble, and chiefly aim'd at the good of his Countrey, though he was miſtaken in the means to attain it. Ambitious he was, but not to the degree of aſpiring to the Crown, till after his Landing in the *Weſt*; and even then, he was rather Paſſive than Active in aſſuming the Title of King. It was Importunity alone that prevail'd with him to make that Step; and he was inflexible, till it was told him, That the only way to provide againſt the Ruin of thoſe that ſhould come into his Aſſiſtance, in caſe he fail'd in the Attempt, was to declare himſelf King; *that they might be ſhelter'd by the Statute made in the Reign of* Henry VII. *in favour of thoſe that ſhould obey a King de Facto.* Thoſe that adviſ'd him, had *Monmouth's Character.*

different Ends in it: Some to render the Breach betwixt King *James* and him irreconcilable, and thereby pave a way for a Commonwealth, in playing them againſt one another. Others, to prevent a poſſibility of his being reconcil'd to King *James*, by the merit of delivering up thoſe that ſhould join him; which was a Thought unworthy of that nice Sincerity he had ſhown in all the former Conduct of his Life.

To confirm this, I remember to have heard *Rumbold* ſay openly at his Execution in *Scotland*, upon the account of *Argyle*'s Invaſion, *That* Monmouth *had broke his Word with them, in declaring himſelf King*. And I have reaſon to know that he was ſo far from a Deſign upon the Crown before he left *Holland*, that it was not without great difficulty he was perſuaded to come over at all: And that upon King *Charles*'s Death he expreſs'd a firm Reſolution to make no ſuch Attempt, but to live a retir'd Life, without giving King *James* any diſturbance.

In his latter Years he us'd to complain of the little Care had been taken of his Education; and in his Diſgrace endeavour'd to make up that Want, by applying himſelf to Study, in which he made in

in a ſhort time no inconſiderable Progreſs. He took the occaſion of his Afflictions to inform his Mind, and recollect and amend the Errors of Youth; which it was not ſtrange he ſhould be tainted with, being bred up in all the Pleaſures of a Luxurious Court. What ſedate Thoughts his Retirement brought him to; and, which is in a great part hitherto a Secret, how little Inclination he had to *make a Buſtle in the World* (to give it in his own Words) is beſt expreſs'd in a Letter of his own, to one that afterwards loſt his Life in his Quarrel: Which though without a Date, appears to be writ after King *Charles*'s Death, and is plac'd in the *Appendix*; which was deliver'd me by a Gentleman yet alive, that was intruſted with the Key of that and other Letters that were writ at that time: Which rather than diſcover, he choſe to ſubmit himſelf to be thrice cruelly tortur'd; all which he bore with a Courage worthy of the Ancient *Romans*.

Appendix, Numb. 15.

Mr. *Spence*, Secretary to the late Earl of *Argyle*.

The Duke of *Monmouth*, when he was brought Priſoner to King *James*'s Preſence, made the humbleſt Submiſſions for his Life; and it's a Myſtery what could move King *James* to ſee him, when he had no mind to pardon him: But the Manner

Manner of his Death Three Days after, did more than acquit him of any Meanneſs of Spirit in deſiring to live, ſince he died with the greateſt Conſtancy and Tranquility of Mind, and ſuch as became a *Chriſtian*, a *Philoſopher*, and a *Soldier*.

The *Storm* being thus blown over that threatn'd his Crown, King *James* thought it time to caſt off the Mask, and to act without diſguiſe what till then he had in ſome part endeavour'd to diſſemble. This Parliament had expreſs'd a more than ordinary Zeal in *Attainting Monmouth*, and had readily granted him a competent ſupply to ſuppreſs that *Rebellion*. Not only ſo, but to teſtify the Confidence they had in his Promiſes mention'd in the former Speeches, the Houſe of Commons Paſs'd a Vote, *nemine contradicente*, That *they did acquieſce, and intirely rely and reſt wholly ſatisfied on His Majeſty's Gracious Word, and repeated Declarations to ſupport and defend the Religion of the Church of* England *as it is now by Law Eſtabliſh'd, which was dearer to them than their Lives.* So that they had reaſon to expect ſome ſuitable Returns to all this Kindneſs and Confidence on their ſides. But they were

were miſtaken; for King *James* began to talk to them in a quite other ſtrain than he had done before. And in another Speech from the Throne, gave them to underſtand by a plain Inſinuation, That he was now Maſter, and that for the future they muſt expect to be govern'd, not by the known Laws of the Land, but by his own ſole Will and Pleaſure.

No part of the *Engliſh Conſtitution* was in it ſelf more ſacred, or better ſecur'd by Law, then That by which *Roman Catholicks were declar'd incapable of Places of Truſt either Civil or Military in the Government:* And he himſelf, when Duke of *York*, was forc'd by the *Teſt-Act* to lay down his Office of Lord High-Admiral, even at a time when he had not publickly own'd his Reconciliation to the Church of *Rome*. But he did what lay in his power to break down this *Barrier* upon *Monmouth*'s Defeat. And in a Speech to his Parliament, told them, *That after the Storm that ſeem'd to be coming when he parted with them laſt, he was glad to meet them again in ſo great Peace and Quietneſs. But when he reflected what an inconſiderable number of Men began the late Rebellion, and how long they carry'd it on without any Oppoſition;*

tion; He hop'd ev'ry body was convinc'd that the Militia was not sufficient for such Occasions; but that nothing but a good Force of Disciplin'd Troops was sufficient to defend Us from Insults at Home and Abroad: And therefore he had increas'd the number of Standing Forces to what they were: And demanded a supply *to support the Charge of them, which he did not doubt they would comply with.* Then, as the main End of his Speech, and to let them know what he was positively resolv'd to do; He adds, *Let no man take Exception that there are some Officers in the Army not qualified according to the late Test for their Employment: The Gentlemen, I must tell you, are most of them well known to me; and having formerly serv'd me on several Occasions, and always approv'd the Loyalty of their Principles by their Practices, I think them now fit to be Employ'd under me, and will deal plainly with you, That after having had the benefit of their Services in such time of need and danger, I will neither expose them to Disgrace, nor my self to the Want of them, if there should be another Rebellion to make them necessary to me.* And at last he tells them, *That he was afraid some may hope that a difference might happen betwixt Him and his*

K. *James's* Speech to the Parliament after *Monmouth's* defeat. *Appendix*, Numb. 16.

his Parliament on that occaſion; which he cannot apprehend can befal him, or that any thing can ſhake them in their Loyalty to him, who will ever make all returns of kindneſs and protection, and venture his Life in the Defence of the true Intereſt of the Nation.

It was no wonder, That this Speech ſurpriz'd a people who valu'd themſelves ſo much upon their *Liberties*, and thought themſelves ſecure of them, both from the Conſtitution of their Government, and the ſolemn repeated promiſes of their Prince. They found too late, that their fears in the former Reign, of a *Popiſh Succeſſor*, were too well grounded, and how inconſiſtent a *Roman Catholick* King is with a Proteſtant Kingdom. The Parliament did in humble manner repreſent the inconvenience that might attend ſuch Meaſures, at leaſt to render him inexcuſable for what might Enſue. And that they might not be wanting to themſelves and their Poſterity, they Voted an *Addreſs*, wherein they told him, *That they had with all duty and readineſs taken into Conſideration His Majeſty's Gracious Speech. And as to that part of it relating to the Officers of the Army not qualified for their Employment according to the Act of Parliament,*

The Parliaments Addreſs to K. *James* upon that Speech.

ment, they did out of their bounden duty humbly Repreſent to His Majeſty, That theſe Officers could not by Law be capable of their Employments; and that the Incapacities they bring upon themſelves that way, could no ways be taken off, but by an Act of Parliament: Therefore out of that great Reverence and Duty they ow'd to His Majeſty, they were preparing a Bill to indemnify them from the inconveniences they had now incurr'd. And becauſe the continuing them in their Employments may be taken to be a diſpenſing with Law without an Act of Parliament, the conſequence of which was of the greateſt concern to the Rights of all his Subjects, and to all the Laws made for the ſecurity of their Religion; Therefore they moſt humbly beſeech His Majeſty, That he would be graciouſly pleas'd to give ſuch Directions therein, that no Apprehenſions or Jealouſies might remain in the hearts of his Subjects.

Over and above what was contain'd in this *Addreſs*, the Houſe of Commons were willing to capacitate by an Act of Parliament, ſuch a Number of the *Roman Catholick* Officers, as King *James* ſhould give a Liſt of. But both this *Offer* and the *Addreſs* was highly reſented; and notwithſtanding that, they were prepa-

ring

ring a *Bill* for a conſiderable *Supply* to Anſwer his extraordinary Occaſions, and had ſent to the *Tower* one of their *Members* for ſpeaking indecently of his Speech, King *James* was influenc'd to part with this his firſt and only *Parliament* in diſpleaſure, upon the Fourth day after they preſented the *Addreſs*.

As his former *Speeches* to his *Council* and *Parliament* had put a *Foreign Court* to a Stand what to think of him; ſo this laſt put them out of pain, and convinc'd them he was intirely *Theirs*. Their ſenſe of it can hardly be better expreſs'd than in a *Letter* from Abroad contain'd in the Appendix; which by its Stile though in another Hand, ſeems to be from the ſame Miniſter that writ the two former: In which he tells the *Ambaſſador* here, *That he needed not a ſurer Character of King* James *and his Intentions, than this laſt Speech to the Parliament, by which they were convinc'd of his former Reſolution to throw off the Fetters which Hereticks would impoſe upon him, and to act for the time to come* En Maiſtre, *as Maſter*: A word till then altogether Foreign to the Engliſh *Conſtitution*. *Appendix*, Numb 17.

What other Effects this Speech had upon the Minds of People at Home and Abroad,

Abroad, may be eaſily gueſs'd from the different Intereſts they had in it: Nor is it to be paſs'd over without ſome Remark, That the *Revocation* of the *Edict of Nants*, which probably had been ſome time under Conſideration before, was now put in Execution to the Aſtoniſhment of all *Europe*.

The Parliament being diſſolv'd, and no viſible means left to retrieve the Liberties of *England*, King *James* made haſte to accompliſh the *Grand Deſign* which a head-ſtrong Party about him, puſh'd on as the certain way in their opinion to Eternize his Name in this World, and to merit an Eternal Crown in the other. They foreſaw that this was the *Critical Juncture*, and the only one that happen'd ſince the days of *Queen Mary*, to Reſtore their Religion in *England*. And if they were wanting to themſelves in making uſe of it, the proſpect of a *Proteſtant Succeſſor* would infallibly prevent their having any ſuch opportunity for the future: King *James* was pretty far advanc'd in years, and what was to be done requir'd Expedition; for all their labour would be loſt, if he ſhould die before the accompliſhment. If he had been Younger, or the next preſumptive Heir had not been a Pro-

a Proteſtant, there had been no ſuch abſolute neceſſity for Diſpatch: But the Uncertainty of the King's Life call'd for more than ordinary diligence in a Deſign that depended meerly upon it.

The *Party* being reſolv'd for theſe Reaſons to bring about in the Compaſs of one Single Life, and that already far ſpent, what ſeem'd to be the Work of a whole Age, they made large ſteps towards it. *Roman-Catholicks* were not only Employ'd in the *Army*, but brought into Places of greateſt Truſt in the *State*: The Earl of *Clarendon* was forthwith remov'd from the Office of *Privy-Seal*, and the Government of *Ireland*, to make room for the Earl of *Tyrconel* in the one, and the Lord *Arundel* in the other. *Father Peters*, a *Jeſuit*, was ſworn of the *Privy Council*. And though by the Laws it was High-Treaſon for any to aſſume the Character of the Pope's *Nuncio*; yet theſe were become too ſlender Cobwebs to hinder a *Roman Prelate* to appear publickly at *London* in that Quality; and one of the greateſt Peers of *England* was diſgrac'd for not paying him that Reſpect which the Laws of the Land made Criminal.

A Pope's *Nuncio* in *England*.

Duke of *Somerſet*.

An Ambassador sent to *Rome*:

To bear the Publick Character of *Ambassador* to the *Pope*, was likewise an open Violation of the Laws: But so fond was the governing Party about King *James* to shew their new-acquir'd Trophies at *Rome*, that the Earl of *Castlemain* was dispatch'd thither *Extraordinary Ambassador*, with a Magnificent Train, and a most Sumptuous Equipage. What his Secret *Instructions* were, may be partly gues's'd by his Publick ones, which were, To *Reconcile the Kingdoms of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *to the Holy See, from which they had for more than an Age fallen off by Heresy.*

And slighted by the Pope.

Innocent XI. receiv'd this *Embassy* as one that saw further than those who sent it. The Ambassador had but a cold Reception of the *Holy Father*; and none of the *Cardinals*, but those of a *particular Faction*, and the good-natur'd *Cardinal of Norfolk*, took any further notice of it, than Good Manners oblig'd them. The *Court* of *Rome* were too refin'd Politicians to be impos'd upon with *Show* and *Noise*; and knew the World too well, to expect great Matters from such hasty, ill-tim'd *Advances* as were made to them. Not only so, but *Innocent* having an Aversion in his Nature to a *Faction* he knew King

King *James* was embark'd in, which he never took pains to diſſemble, was not over-fond of an *Embaſſy* from a Prince who was in an *Intereſt* he had long wiſh'd to ſee humbled. King *James* met with nothing but Mortifications at *Rome* in the Perſon of his *Ambaſſador*, which occaſion'd his making as ſhort a Stay as was poſſible. In which may be ſeen the vaſt difference there was at that time betwixt the *Politicks* of *Italy*, and thoſe of a head-ſtrong Party in *England*. And however the World has been impos'd upon to believe that the *Pope*'s *Nuncio* at the *Engliſh* Court, who is ſince made a *Cardinal*, was an Inſtrument to puſh on things to extremities, yet certain it is he had too much good ſenſe to approve of all the Meaſures that were taken; and therefore deſir'd often to be recall'd, leſt he ſhould be thought to have a hand in them.

Although the Earl of *Caſtlemain* was pleas'd upon his Examination before the *Parliament*, to ſay that his Embaſſy to *Rome* was *only ſuch as is between Two Temporal Princes, about Compliment and Commerce*; yet *Father Warner* in his *Manuſcript Hiſtory*, quoted by a Learned Author *, gives us another account of it, in theſe words; *Things being thus ſetled*

* Dr. *Gee*'s Animadverſions on the *Jeſuits Memorial* for the Intended Reformation of *England*, under the firſt Popiſh Prince. *London*, 1690.

(ſays he) *within the Realm, the next care his Majeſty had, was to unite his Countries to the Obedience of the Biſhop of* Rome, *and the Apoſtolick See, which had been cut off by Hereſy about an Age and a half before. To try the Pope's Inclination, In the Year* 1685. *he ſent Mr.* Carryl *thither, who ſucceeding according to his Wiſhes, and being recall'd, the Earl of* Caſtlemain *was ſent the next Year, as Extraordinary Ambaſſador to the Pope, in the Name of the King and the Catholicks of* England, *to make their Submiſſion to the Holy See.*

Caſtlemain had ſeveral *Audiences* of the *Pope*, but to little purpoſe; for whenever he began to talk of Buſineſs, the Pope was ſeaſonably attack'd with a *Fit of Coughing*, which broke off the Ambaſſador's Diſcourſe for that time, and oblig'd him to retire. Theſe *Audiences* and *Fits of Coughing* continued from time to time, while *Caſtlemain* continued at *Rome*, and were the ſubject of diverſion to all but a particular *Faction* at that *Court*. At length he was adviſ'd to come to Threats, and to give out that he would be gone, ſince he could not have an opportunity to treat with the Pope about the Buſineſs he came for. *Innocent* was ſo

ſo little concern'd for the Ambaſſador's Reſentment, that when they told him of it, he anſwer'd with his ordinary Coldneſs, *E bene, ſe vuol andarſene dite-gli adonque che ſi levi di buon matino al freſco e che a mezzo giorno ſi repoſi, per che in queſti paeſi non biſogna viaggiare al caldo del giorno. Well! let him go; and tell him, It were fit he riſe early in the Morning, that he may reſt himſelf at Noon; for in this Country it's dangerous to travel in the Heat of the Day.*

In the end, he was recall'd; being able to obtain of the Pope two trifling Requeſts only, that could hardly be denied to an ordinary *Courier*; The one was a *Licenſe for the Mareſchal* d' Humiers's *Daughter to marry her Uncle:* And the other, *a Diſpenſation of the Statutes of the Jeſuits Order, to Father* Peters, *to enjoy a Biſhoprick: The want of which,* ſays my Author, *was the reaſon that the Archbiſhoprick of* York *was kept ſo long vacant.*

Mercure Hiſtorick, pour June, 1687.

Though the Pope carried himſelf in this manner towards the *Engliſh Ambaſſador*, yet the *Jeſuits* paid him the higheſt Reſpect imaginable; which did him no ſervice with the *Old Man*, for *He* and

The Jeſuits Noble Entertainment of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at *Rome.*

That *Order* were never hearty Friends. They entertain'd him in their *Seminary* with the greateſt Magnificence; and nothing was wanting in Nature or Art, to grace his Reception. All their Stores of *Sculpture*, *Painting*, *Poetry*, and *Rhetorick*, ſeem to have been exhauſted upon this Entertainment. And though all the *Inſcriptions* and *Emblems* did center upon *the Triumph of the* Romiſh *Religion*, *and the Ruin of Hereſy in* England, yet Care was taken not to omit ſuch particular *Trophies* and *Devices*, as were adapted to their new-acquir'd Liberty of *ſetting up their Publick Schools at* London. Among a great many other *Panegyricks* upon King *James*, the following Diſtich was plac'd below an *Emblem* of *England:*

Reſtituit Veterem tibi Religionis honorem
Anglia, Magnanimi Regis aperta fides.

The open Zeal of this Magnanimous King, has reſtor'd to England *its Ancient Religion.*

There was alſo this *Inſcription* put round King *James*'s Picture:

Poten-

Potentissimo & Religiosissimo
Magnæ Britanniæ
REGI
JACOBO II.
Generosâ
Catholicæ Fidei Confessione
Regnum Auspicanti.
ET
INNOCENTIO XI. *P. M.*
Per Legatum
Nobilissimum & Sapientissimum
D. Rogerium Palmerium
Comitem de Castelmain
Obsequium deferenti.
Collegium Romanum
Regia Virtutum Insignia dedicat.

To the most Potent and most Religious
JAMES *the Second, King of* Great Britain; *beginning his Reign with the Generous Confession of the Catholick Faith.*

AND
Paying his Obedience to Pope
INNOCENT XI.
By the most Noble and most Wise
D. Roger Palmer, *Earl of* Castlemain,
The Roman *College*
Dedicates
These Royal Emblems of his Virtues.

In the Great *Hall* the Ambaſſador was *Harangued* by the *Rector* of the *College* in a *Latin* Speech; which, to ſhow the vain Hopes they had of King *James* and their own Fortune at that time, is plac'd in the *Appendix*, with a Tranſlation of it into *Engliſh:* Referring the Reader for the reſt of that Solemnity, to an Ingenious Gentleman that was then upon the Place, and has given a particular Account of it.

Appendix, Numb. 18. *Nouveau Voyage d'Italie, Edit.* 3. *Tom.* 2. *Par Monſieur Miſſon.*

But yet it may not be amiſs to mention what the ſame Gentleman tells us, of a *Device* that related to King *James*'s having a Son; which was, *A Lilly, from whoſe Leaves there diſtill'd ſome Drops of Water*, which as the Naturaliſts ſay, becomes the Seed of new Lillies; and the *Motto* was, *Lachrimor in Prolem: I weep for Children.* Underneath was this Diſtich:

Pro Natis, Jacobe, gemis, Flos candide Regum?
Hos Natura Tibi ſi neget, Aſtra dabunt.

Doſt thou ſigh for Children, O James! *thou beſt of Kings? If Nature denies, Heaven will grant them.*

There

There was one *Inſcription* more this Author takes notice of; which being one of the moſt unaccountable things of that kind, afforded matter for the *Wits* of *Rome* to deſcant upon. Though the Words are ill choſe, and ſtrangely harſh, yet it's certain the Fathers had a good meaning in them; and they refer to King *James*'s Influence upon his Brother to turn *Roman-Catholick* at his death. The Inſcription runs thus,

Jacobo *Secundo* Angliæ *Regi*
Quod ipſo Vitæ Exemplo preunte,
Et impellente Conſiliis,
Carolus *Frater & Rex*
Mortem obierat admodum piam:
Regnaturus a tergo frater
Alas Carolo *addidit;*
E T
Ut Cælo dignum,
E T
Dignum ſe Rege Legatum, eligēret,
Fratrem Miſit.

To King James II. *King of* England; *for having by his Example and his Counſel, prevail'd with* Charles *his Brother to dye a Pious Death.*

And

And being to ſucceed him,
He gave Wings to Charles; *and that he might make choice of an Ambaſſador worthy of Heaven and himſelf, he ſent his Brother.*

I will not pretend to give the nice Senſe of theſe words; and tho I would, I cannot, there being ſuch a perplexity in them. But for the Expreſſions that follow, I may venture to give them in *Engliſh*, though they ſeem to be as much out of the ordinary Road as the former.

Nuncii ex Anglia proceres
Retulerunt Regibus aliis Jacobum *Regnantem*
Cælo
Primus omnium retulit Carolus.
Nec Immerito;
Reges alii Legatos ſuſcipiunt
Mittuntque Principes,
Legatos Reges Deum Excipere decuit;
Jacobum *mittere.*

Engliſh *Noblemen were ſent to other Kings, to acquaint them with King* James's *Acceſſion to the Crown: But* Charles *firſt of all brought the News of it to Heaven.*

It

It was but reaſonable,
For Kings to ſend and receive Princes as Ambaſſadors:
But
It became God Almighty to receive, and James *to ſend no Ambaſſadors but Kings.*

The Mortifications K. *James* met with at *Rome*, about his Marriage with the Princeſs of *Eſté*.

To ſee King *James* neglected at *Rome* in the *Pontificat* of *Innocent* XI. was not ſo ſtrange, conſidering what has been ſaid of his Antipathy to a *Faction* wherein that Prince was concern'd: But that in the time of *Innocent*'s Predeceſſor, and when he was *Duke of York*, he ſhould be denied a common Favour, which that Court ſeldom or never refuſes to any one, was a thing altogether unaccountable: Yet ſo it was, That he having ſent the late *Earl of Peterborough* to *Italy*, to Eſpouſe the *Princeſs of Modena* in his Name, all the Intereſt he could make, was not able to obtain a *Diſpenſation* for the Marriage. The account of this matter being ſo little known, and that *Earl*'s Book wherein he mentions it, being ſo rare, and, as I am told, but Twenty four *Copies* printed, I ſhall give it in the *Earl*'s own Words:

Genealogies of the Family of *Mordant*, *&c.* in a large *Fol.* p. 427, 428.

" But

"But now from *Rome* there was Ad-
"vice (says he) by the *Abbot of Angeo*,
"of the great difficulties that arose in
"the Consultations of this Affair (mean-
"ing the Marriage.) The *French* Am-
"bassador, the *Duke d'Estrees*, favour'd
"the Marriage with all the Power of the
"*French* Faction; so did *Cardinal Barbe-*
"*rini*, and all the other Friends and Al-
"lies of the House of *Este*. But his *Ho-*
"*liness* himself was very averse, and
"*Cardinal Altieri*, who was the *Govern-*
"*ing Nephew*, a profess'd and violent
"Opposer. The main pretence for this
"Obstinacy, was the *Duke of York*'s not
"declaring himself publickly of the *Ro-*
"*mish Church*, though they knew that he
"was of a long time reconcil'd to it.

"But now at last (continues the Earl
"of *Peterborough*) came from *Rome* the
"*Abbot of Angeo* without the *Dispensa-*
"*tion*, which he could by no means ob-
"tain, by reason that Cardinal *Altieri*
"was inflexible, and Threats of Excom-
"munication were issued out against any
'that should undertake to perform or
"celebrate the Marriage. Whereupon
"we were all upon the fears and expecta-
"tions of a total Rupture. The *Duchess*
"*of Modena* her self, a Zealous, if not a
"Bigot

"Bigot Woman, was in great pain about "the part that might ſeem offenſive to "his *Holineſs*, or neglective of his Au- "thority: And the Young *Princeſs* took "occaſion from hence to ſupport her un- "willingneſs. But in truth, Cardinal "*Barberini*, upon whom the *Ducheſs* had "great dependance, and all the other "Adherents and Relations of the Houſe "of *Eſtè*, being every day more and "more poſſeſs'd of the Honour and Inte- "reſt they were like to find in this Alli- "ance, were ſcandaliz'd at the unrea- "ſonable Obſtinacy of the *Pope* and his "*Nephew*; and did frankly adviſe the "*Ducheſs* of *Modena* ſuddenly to make "up and perfect the Marriage: The "Peace and Excuſe of the thing being "eaſier to be had after it was done, than "any preſent *Licenſe* to be obtain'd for "doing it.

"The Biſhop of *Modena* was then ap- "plied to (adds the Earl) for the Per- "formance: But he refuſing, a poor "*Engliſh Jacobine* was found, Brother to "*Jerome White*, that after ſerv'd the "*Ducheſs*, who having nothing to loſe, "and on whom the Terror of *Excommu- "nication* did not ſo much prevail, did "undertake it, and ſo he perform'd the

"Cere-

" Ceremony. Thus far the Earl of *Peterborough.*

The true design of the Persecution of Dissenters in King *Charles's* time.

But to leave this Digression, and to return to our History. It was about this time that the *Romish Cabal* about King *James* began to play their *Popular Engine*, and which was likely to do most Execution, by weakning the *National Establish'd Church*, and dividing Protestants among themselves, when in the mean time the *Roman-Catholicks* were to be the only Gainers. This was disguis'd under the specious Name of *Liberty of Conscience.* And the very same Party that advis'd this *Toleration*, were they that had push'd on all the Severities against the *Protestant Dissenters* in the former Reign, with design to widen the Breach between them and the Church of *England*, and to render the first more willing to swallow the Bait of *Toleration*, whenever it should be offer'd to them. They gain'd in a great part their End; for the *Dissenters* were not so fond of Persecution and Ill Usage, as to refuse a Liberty that was frankly offer'd them, which neither their Prayers nor Tears could obtain before: Nor did they think it good manners to enquire too narrowly how that Liberty came about;

about, as long as they were ſhelter'd thereby from the Oppreſſions they lay under.

The Church of *England* ſaw through all this *Contrivance*, and fear'd the Conſequences. The Proteſtant *Diſſenters* were more pitied now in their ſeeming Proſperity, than ever they had been in their real Adverſity. Some that had been zealous before in putting the Penal Laws in execution againſt them, did now ſee their Error too late, and found they had been us'd but as Tools to prevent the *Diſſenters* from uniting with the Church of *England*, whenever the common Danger ſhould come to threaten both.

K. *James* grants a Toleration of Religion.

This *Toleration* could not ſubſiſt, being contrary to the Eſtabliſh'd Laws of the Realm, unleſs a new *Monſter* was introduc'd to give it life, under the Name of a *Diſpenſing Power*. When King *James* came to aſſume to himſelf this *Power* as his Prerogative and Right, he unhindg'd the *Conſtitution* all at once; for to Diſpenſe with Laws already made, is as much a part of the *Legiſlature*, as the making of new ones. And therefore in arogating to himſelf ſuch a *Diſpenſing Power*, he invaded the very *Eſſence* of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, by which *the Legiſlature*

giſlature is lodg'd in King, Lords, and Commons; and every one of them has a Negative upon the other two.

Charles II. was the firſt King of *England* that ever aim'd at any thing like a Diſpenſing Power. In the Year 1662. he was prevail'd upon for ſome Reaſons of State to iſſue out a Proclamation, diſpenſing with ſome few things that related to the *Act of Uniformity*, but without the leaſt regard to *Roman Catholicks*. And though in his Speech to the Parliament upon that occaſion, he did in a manner acknowledge that he had no ſuch Power, in ſaying, *That if the Diſſenters would demean themſelves peaceably and modeſtly, he could heartily wiſh he had ſuch a Power of Indulgence to uſe upon occaſion:* Yet the Parliament was ſo jealous of this Innovation, that they preſented the King with an *Addreſs* againſt the *Proclamation*; and plainly told him, *That he had no Power to diſpenſe with the Laws, without an Act of Parliament.*

King *Charles* made another Attempt of the like nature, in the Year 1672; and in a Speech to Both Houſes, did mention his Declaration of Indulgence, and acquainted them with the Reaſons that induc'd him to it; telling them withal, how

how little the *Roman Catholicks* would be the better for it. Upon which the House of Commons made an Address to him for recalling this Declaration: Wherein they plainly told him, *That in claiming a Power to dispense with Penal Laws, his Majesty had been very much misinform'd; since no such Power was ever claim'd or exercis'd by any of his Predecessors; and if it should be admitted, might tend to the interrupting of the free course of the Laws, and altering the Legislative Power, which has always been acknowledg'd to reside in his Majesty, and his Two Houses of Parliament.* King *Charles* was so far satisfied in the matter contain'd in this Address, that he immediately thereupon cancell'd his Declaration of Indulgence, and order'd the Seal to be torn off; and acquainted both Houses, That he had done so; with this further Declaration, which was enter'd upon Record in the House of Lords, *That it should never be drawn into Example or Consequence.*

The next that attempted such a Dispensing Power, though of a far larger Extent, was King *James*, as has been said: And how any thing that look'd that way, was reliſh'd by the House of Commons, does appear by their Address

against the *Roman Catholick* Officers; which alſo has been mention'd.

And aſſumes a diſpenſing Power.

It was not enough for King *James* to aſſume this *Diſpenſing Power*, and to act by it; but ſuch was the Miſery and hard Fate of *England*, that the *Party* about the King would have had us believe, *That a Power in the King to diſpenſe with Laws, was Law.* To maintain this *Monſtrous Poſition*, there were not only Mercenary Pens ſet a-work, but a Set of *Judges* found out, that to their Eternal Reproach, did all was poſſible for them to Compliment the King with the Liberties of their Countrey. For theſe Gentlemen gave it for Law,

That the Laws of England *are the King's Laws.*

That therefore it's an incident, inſeparable Prerogative of the Kings of England, *as of all other Sovereign Princes, to diſpenſe with all Penal Laws, in particular Caſes, and upon particular neceſſary Reaſons.*

That of thoſe Reaſons and Neceſſities the King is the ſole Judge. And which is a Conſequent thereupon,

That this is not a Truſt inveſted in, or granted to the King, but the Ancient Remains

Remains of the Sovereign Power of the Kings of England, *which never was yet taken from them, nor can be.*

Thus were we fallen under the greateſt Misfortune that can poſſibly happen to a Nation; *To have our* Laws *and* Conſtitution *trampled upon under colour of Law.* And thoſe very Men, whoſe Office it was to ſupport them, became now the Betrayers of them to the Will of the Prince.

This mighty Point being gain'd, or rather forc'd upon us, the *Roman-Catholicks* were not wanting to make the beſt uſe of it for themſelves. The free and open Exerciſe of their Religion was ſet up every where, and Jeſuit *Schools* and *Seminaries* erected in the moſt conſiderable Towns. The Church of *England* had now but a *precarious Title* to the *National Church*, and *Romiſh Candidates* had ſwallow'd up its *Preferments* and *Dignities* already in their Hopes. *Romiſh* Biſhops were publickly *Conſecrated* in the *Royal Chappel*, and diſpatch'd down to exerciſe their Epiſcopal Function in their reſpective Dioceſſes. Their *Paſtoral Letters*, directed to the Lay-Catholicks of *England*, were openly diſpers'd up and

down, and printed by the King's own Printer, with Publick Licenſe. The *Regular* Clergy appear'd in their Habits in *Whitehall* and St. *James's*; and made no ſcruple to tell the Proteſtants, *They hop'd in a little time to walk in Proceſſion through* Cheapſide.

A mighty Harveſt of *New Converts* was expected; and that Labourers might not be wanting, Shoals of *Prieſts* and *Regulars* were ſent over from beyond Sea to reap it. The only Step to Preferment, was to be of the King's Religion: And to preach againſt the Errors of *Rome*, was the height of Diſloyalty, becauſe, forſooth, it tended to alienate the Subjects Affections from the King. An Order was directed to the Proteſtant Biſhops about *Preaching*, which was, upon the matter, forbidding them to defend their Religion in the Pulpit, when it was at the ſame time attack'd by the *Romiſh* Prieſts with all the Vigor they were capable of, both in their Sermons and Books. This *Order* was taken from a Precdent in Queen *Mary*'s time; for the firſt Step ſhe made to introduce Popery, notwithſtanding her Promiſes to the Gentlemen of *Suffolk* and *Norfolk* to the contrary, upon their appearing firſt of any for

for her Intereſt, upon the Death of her Brother, was to iſſue out a Proclamation, forbidding the Preaching upon controverted Points of Religion, for ſear, it was ſaid, of raiſing Animoſities among the people. But notwithſtanding this inſnaring Letter of K. *James*'s, the Clergy of the Church of *England* were not wanting in their Duty: For to their Immortal Honour, they did more to vindicate the Doctrine of their own Church, and expoſe the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, both in their *Sermons* and *Writings*, than ever had been done either at Home or Abroad, ſince the *Reformation*; and in ſuch a Stile, and with ſuch an Inimitable Force of Reaſoning, as will be a Standard of Writing to ſucceeding Ages.

To haſten on the Project againſt the *Eſtabliſh'd Church*, a new Court of *Inquiſition* was erected, under the Name of a *Commiſſion for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs*: And to blind the people, there were ſome Biſhops of the Church of *England* nam'd *Commiſſioners*, whereof one refus'd to act from the beginning, and the other excus'd himſelf, after he came to ſee where the Deſign of it was levell'd. This *Commiſſion* was another manifeſt Violation of the Laws, and againſt an

expreſs *Act* of Parliament: And as if that had not been enough to mortify the Church of *England*, there were ſome *Roman Catholicks* appointed *Commiſſioners*; and conſequently, the Enemies of the Proteſtant Religion were become the Judges and Directors of a Proteſtant Church in its *Doctrine* and *Diſcipline*.

The Suſpenſion of the Biſhop of *London*.

Theſe Commiſſioners thought fit to begin the Exerciſe of their New Power with the Suſpenſion of Dr. *Compton*, Biſhop of *London*. This Noble Prelate, by a Conduct worthy of his Birth and Station in the Church, had acquir'd the Love and Eſteem of all the Proteſtant Churches at home and abroad, and was for that reaſon the Mark of the Envy and Hatred of the *Romiſh* Party at Court. They had waited for an occaſion to enoble their *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion* with ſuch an Illuſtrious Sacrifice; and ſuch an occaſion was rather taken than given, in the Buſineſs of Dr. *Sharp*, now Archbiſhop of *York*.

The Occaſion of it.

The Prieſts about the King knowing how much it was their Intereſt that the Proteſtant Clergy ſhould not have leave to refute the Errors of the Church of *Rome* in their Sermons, had adviſ'd him to ſend to the Biſhops the enſnaring Letter

ter or *Order* before mention'd, containing *Directions about Preachers.* The Learned Dr. *Sharp* taking occaſion in ſome of his Sermons to vindicate the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, in oppoſition to Popery; this was in the *Court-Dialect* underſtood to be the *endeavouring to beget in the minds of his Hearers an ill opinion of the King and his Government, by inſinuating Fears and Jealouſies, to diſpoſe them to Diſcontent, and to lead them into Diſobedience and Rebellion*; and conſequently, a Contempt of the ſaid *Order* about *Preachers.* Whereupon King *James* ſent a *Letter* to the Biſhop of *London*, containing an *Order* to *ſuſpend* Dr. *Sharp* from Preaching in any Pariſh-Church or Chappel in his Dioceſs, until the Doctor had given Satisfaction, and his Majeſty's further Pleaſure ſhould be known.

The Biſhop of *London* perceiving what was aim'd at in this Letter, endeavour'd all that was poſſible to divert the Storm that threaten'd him, and the Church of *England* through his ſides. He writ a Submiſſive Letter to the *Secretary of State*, to be communicated to the King; ſetting forth, *That he thought it his Duty to obey his Majeſty in whatever Commands he laid upon him, that he could perform with*

a ſafe Conſcience: But in this he was oblig'd to proceed according to Law, and as a Judge: And by the Law no Judge condemns a man, before he has knowledge of the Cauſe, and has cited the Party. That however, he had acquainted Dr. Sharp *with his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure; whom he found ſo ready to give all reaſonable Satisfaction, that he had made him the Bearer of that Letter.*

Together with this Letter from the Biſhop of *London*, Dr. *Sharp* carried with him a *Petition* to the King in his own Name, ſhewing, *That ever ſince his Majeſty was pleas'd to give notice of his Diſpleaſure againſt him, he had forborn the Publick Exerciſe of his Function: And as he had endeavour'd to do the beſt Service he could to his Majeſty and his late Brother in his Station, ſo he had not vented now in the Pulpit any thing tending to Faction or Schiſm: And therefore prayed his Majeſty would be pleas'd to lay aſide his Diſpleaſure conceiv'd againſt him, and reſtore him to that Favour which the reſt of the Clergy enjoy'd.*

All this Submiſſion was to no purpoſe. Nothing would ſatisfy the *Party*, but a Revenge upon the Biſhop of *London*, for his Exemplary Zeal for the Proteſtant Intereſt;

Intereſt; and this Affair of Dr. *Sharp*'s was made uſe of as a handle to mortify him, and in his Perſon the whole *Body* of the *Clergy*. The Biſhop was Cited before the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion*, for not *ſuſpending* Dr. *Sharp*, according to the King's *Order*, and treated by their *Chairman* at his Appearance, in a manner unworthy of his Station and Quality. All the Defence he could make, and his *Plea* to the Juriſdiction and Legality of the Court, which was good beyond all contradiction, did ſignify nothing. Theſe New *Inquiſitors* being reſolv'd to ſtick at nothing that might pleaſe the *Party* that ſet them at work, did by their Definitive *Sentence declare, decree, and pronounce, That the Biſhop of* London *ſhould for his Diſobedience and Contempt be ſuſpended during his Majeſty's Pleaſure: And accordingly was ſuſpended; with a peremptory Admonition, To abſtain from the Function and Execution of his Epiſcopal Office, and other Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdictions, during the ſaid Suſpenſion, under the pain of Deprivation, and Removal from his Biſhoprick.*

The Proceedings againſt the Preſident and Fellows of *Magdalene* College.

The next that felt the weight of this *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion*, were the *Preſident* and *Fellows* of St. *Mary Magdalen's College* in *Oxford*. The two chief *Seats* of

of Learning, the Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* ſtood in the way of the *Grand Deſign*; and the *Party* was impatient to get footing there. *Magdalen College* is one of the Nobleſt Foundations that perhaps was ever erected to Learning in the World, and therefore it was no wonder it was one of the firſt Marks that was ſhot at. This Illuſtrious *Society*, from repeated *Grants* of Kings, ratified in Parliament, and from their own *Statutes*, was in an uninterrupted Poſſeſſion of a Right to *Elect* their own *Preſident*. That Place being vacant by the Death of Dr. *Clark*, a Day was appointed by the *Vice-Preſident* and *Fellows*, to proceed to the *Election* of another to fill up the Vacancy. But before the day of Election came, *Charnock*, one of the *Fellows* (who was ſince executed for the late *Plot* to *Aſſaſſinate* his preſent Majeſty) brought them a *Mandate* from King *James*, to elect one *Fermer* into the Place; a Man of an Ill Reputation, who had promis'd to declare himſelf *Roman Catholick*, and was altogether uncapable of the Office by the *Statutes* of the *College*. This *Mandate* the *Vice-Preſident* and *Fellows* receiv'd with all decent Reſpect; and ſent their humble *Addreſs* to the King, repreſenting

to

to his Majesty, *That* Fermer *was a Person in several respects incapable of that Office, according to their Founders Statutes: And therefore did earnestly beseech his Majesty, either to leave them to the discharge of their Duty and Consciences, according to his Majesty's late Gracious Declaration, and their Founders Statutes; or else to recommend to them such a Person, who might be more serviceable to his Majesty and the College.*

Notwithstanding this humble and submissive *Address*, King *James* signified his Pleasure to them, *That he expected to be obey'd.* Upon which, the *Fellows* being oblig'd by the *Statutes* of their *Society*, to which they were sworn, not to delay the *Election* longer than such a day; and *Fermer* being a Person they could not chuse, without incurring the Sin of *Perjury*, they proceeded to *Election*, and chose Dr. *Hough* (now Bishop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*) their *President*.

Hereupon the New *President* and *Fellows* were cited before the *Ecclesiastical Commission*, for disobeying the King's *Mandate*. And notwithstanding they made it appear by their *Answer*, plac'd at length in the *Appendix*, That *they could not comply with that Mandate, without Breach of their Oath*; *Appendix*, Numb. 19.

Oath; and that there was no room left for the King to diſpenſe with that Oath, becauſe in the Oath it ſelf they were ſworn not to make uſe of any ſuch Diſpenſation, nor in any ſort conſent thereto: Yet againſt all Law, the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners* did by their Sentence *deprive Dr.* Hough *of his Preſidentſhip, and ſuſpended two of the Fellows from their Fellowſhips:* While the King at the ſame time *Inhibited* the *College* to elect or admit any perſon whatſoever into any *Fellowſhip*, or any other Place or Office in the ſaid *College*, till his further Pleaſure.

The *Court* finding by this time, that *Fermer* was one of ſo profligate a Life, that though he had promis'd to declare himſelf *Roman-Catholick* upon his Promotion to that place, they began to be aſham'd of him: And therefore inſtead of inſiſting on the former *Mandamus* in his favour, there was another granted in favour of Dr. *Parker*, then Biſhop of *Oxford*, one of the *Creatures* of the *Court*, and who they knew would ſtick at nothing to ſerve a Turn.

The Place of *Preſident* being already in a Legal manner fill'd up by the Election of Dr. *Hough*; which though it had not been, yet the Biſhop of *Oxford* was likewiſe

wiſe incapable by the *Statutes* of the College, of being elected; The *Fellows* did humbly offer a very pathetick *Petition* to his Majeſty, mention'd at length in the *Appendix*; in which they ſet forth, *how inexpreſſible an Affliction it was to them, to find themſelves reduc'd to ſuch an extremity, that either they muſt diſobey his Majeſty's Commands, contrary to their Inclinations, and that conſtant courſe of Loyalty which they had ever ſhew'd hitherto upon all occaſions; or elſe break their Founders Statutes, and deliberately perjure themſelves.* Then they mention'd the *Statutes* and the *Oaths* that every one of them had taken at their Admiſſion into their *Fellowſhips*; and concluded with an humble Prayer to his Majeſty, To *give them leave to lay their Caſe and Themſelves at his Majeſty's Royal Feet, earneſtly beſeeching his Sacred Majeſty to extend to them, his humble Petitioners, that Grace and Tenderneſs which he had vouchſaf'd to all his other Subjects.* *Appendix*, Numb 20.

All this Submiſſion was in vain: For the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners* by their final *Decree* and Sentence, *depriv'd and expell'd from their Fellowſhips all the Fellows of* Magdalen College, *but Three that had complied with Breach of Oath, being Twenty five*

five in number. And to push their Injustice yet further, they did by another *Sentence* decree and declare, *That Dr.* Hough, *who had been depriv'd before, and the said Twenty five Fellows, should be incapable of receiving or being admitted into any Ecclesiastical Dignity, Benefice, or Promotion. And such of them who were not yet in Holy Orders, they adjudg'd incapable of receiving or being admitted into the same.* Thus by a *Decree* of an *Illegal Court*, were a Set of Worthy and Learned Men turn'd out of their *Freeholds*, merely for not obeying an Arbitrary Command, which was directly against their Consciences: And thus was King *James* prevail'd with by a Headstrong Party, to assume a Power not only to *dispense with Laws*, but to *make void Oaths.*

The Second Declaration for Liberty of Conscience.

The first *Declaration* for *Liberty of Conscience* was not thought a sufficient *Stretch of Power*; and therefore King *James* issued out another of a much higher Strain, in which the *Roman-Catholicks* were chiefly included, and indeed it was for their sake alone it was granted. To render the Church of *England* accessary to their own Ruin, there was an *Order of Council* made upon the latter, *commanding it to be read at the usual times of Divine Service,*

The Order of Council upon it

Service, in all Churches and Chappels throughout the Kingdom; and ordering the Biſhops to cauſe it to be ſent and diſtributed throughout their ſeveral and reſpective Dioceſſes, to be read accordingly.

The Clergy of the Church of *England* had reaſon to take it for the greateſt Hardſhip and Oppreſſion that could be put upon them, to be commanded to read from their Pulpits a *Declaration* they knew to be againſt Law, and which in its Nature and Deſign was levell'd againſt their own Intereſt, and that of their Religion. Some of them through *Fear* or *Miſtake*, and others *to make their Court*, complied; but the Generality refus'd to obey ſo unjuſt a Command. The *Romiſh* Party had their Ends in it, for their Refuſal laid them open to the ſevere Laſhes of the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion*; and accordingly, every one that had not read the *Declaration* in their Churches, were order'd to be proſecuted before that inexorable *Tribunal*, where they were infallibly to expect to be depriv'd: And ſo moſt of the *Benefices* in *England* muſt have been made vacant for a new kind of *Incumbents*.

But the *Scene* chang'd before all this could be brought about: For King *James*, urg'd

urg'd on by his Fate, and by a reſtleſs Party about him, came at this time to level a Blow againſt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Six of his *Suffragan Biſhops*, that awaken'd the People of *England* to ſhake off their Chains, and implore Foreign Aſſiſtance to retrieve the *dying Liberties* of their Countrey.

The Affair of the Seven Biſhops.

Theſe *Seven Biſhops* being ſenſible, as moſt of the Nation was, of what was originally aim'd at in theſe two *Declarations* for *Liberty of Conſcience*, did conſult together about the humbleſt manner to lay before King *James* the Reaſons why they could not comply with the *Order of Council*. Having got leave to attend him, they deliver'd to him with the greateſt Submiſſion, a *Petition* in behalf of themſelves and their abſent *Brethren*, and in the name of the *Clergy* of their reſpective *Dioceſſes*, humbly repreſenting, That *their unwillingneſs did not proceed from any want of Duty and Obedience to his Majeſty, nor from any want of due Tenderneſs to Diſſenters; in relation to whom, they were willing to come to ſuch a Temper as ſhould be thought fit, when that Matter ſhould be conſider'd in Parliament and Convocation: But, among a great many other Conſiderations, from this eſpecially,*

Becauſe

Because That Declaration was founded upon such a Dispensing Power as had been often declar'd Illegal in Parliament; and was a matter of so great moment and consequence to the whole Nation, that they could not in Prudence, Honour, or Conscience, so far make themselves Parties to it, as the distribution of it all over the Kingdom, and the solemn Publication of it even in God's House, and in the Time of his Divine Service, must amount to, in common and reasonable Construction. Therefore did humbly and earnestly beseech his Majesty, That he would be graciously pleas'd, *not to insist upon their Distributing and Reading the said Declaration.*

This *Petition*, tho the humblest that could be, and deliver'd by Six of them to the King alone in his *Closet*, was so highly resented, that the *Six Bishops* that presented it, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* that writ it, but was not present at its delivery, were committed Prisoners to the *Tower*.

They were a few days after brought to the *Kings-Bench Bar*, and Indicted of a *High Misdemeanor*, for having *falsly, unlawfuly, maliciously, seditiously, and scandalously fram'd, compos'd, and writ, a false, malicious, pernicious, and seditious Libel, con-*

cerning the King and his Royal Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, under the pretence of a Petition: And that they had publiſh'd the ſame in preſence of the King. There was a great Appearance at this *Trial*; and it was a *Leading Caſe*; for upon it depended in a great meaſure the Fate of the reſt of the Clergy of the Church of *England*. It laſted long, and in the end the Seven Biſhops were *Acquitted*, with the Acclamations of all but the *Court-Party*.

There were two things very remarkable in this *Trial*: The *Diſpenſing Power* was learnedly and boldly argued againſt by the *Counſel* for the Biſhops, and demonſtrated by invincible Arguments to be an open Violation of the Laws and Conſtitution of the Kingdom. So that in one of the greateſt *Auditories* that was ever ſeen in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and upon hearing one of the moſt Solemn *Cauſes* that was ever Tried at the *Kings-Bench-Bar*, King *James* had the Mortification to ſee his *new-aſſum'd Prerogative* baffled, and its Illegality expos'd to the World. The other thing obſervable upon this *Trial*, was, That the Tables were ſo far turn'd, that ſome that had largely contributed to the Enſlaving their Countrey with

with false Notions of Law, were now of another Opinion: While at the same time, others that had stood up for the Liberty of their Countrey in two successive Parliaments, and had suffer'd upon that account, did now as much endeavour to stretch the Prerogative beyond its just Limits, as they had oppos'd it before. *So hard it is for Mankind to be in all times, and upon all turns, constant to themselves.*

The News of the *Bishops* being acquitted, was receiv'd with the highest Expressions of Joy throughout the whole Kingdom: Nor could the King's own Presence prevent his *Army*, that was then encamp'd at *Hounslow-Heath*, from mixing their loud Acclamations with the rest. This last *Mortification* might have prevented his Fate, if his Ears had been open to any but a Hot Party, that were positively resolv'd to push *for all*, cost what it would: And it was easily seen by the Soldiers Behaviour upon this occasion, *How impossible it is to debauch an* English *Army from their Love to their Countrey and their Religion.*

While the *Bishops* were in the *Tower*, the *Roman-Catholicks* had their Hopes crown'd with the Birth of a pretended

The Birth of a pretended Prince of *Wales.*

Prince of Wales. The fears of a *Protestant Succeſſor* had been the only Allay that render'd their Proſperity leſs perfect: Now the happineſs of having an Heir to the Crown to be bred up in their own Religion, quaſh'd all thoſe Fears, and aton'd for the Uncertainty of the King's Life. It was ſo much their Intereſt to have one, and there were ſo many Circumſtances that ſeem'd to render his Birth ſuſpicious, that the Nation in general were inclinable to believe that this was the laſt *Effort* of the *Party*, to accompliſh our Ruin.

A new Parliament deſign'd, and to what End.

All things ſeem'd now to conſpire towards it. There was only a *Parliament* wanting, to ratify and approve all the Illegal Steps that had been made; which was to be done effectually, *by taking off the Penal Laws and Teſt*, the two chief *Barriers* of our Religion. To obtain ſuch a *Parliament*, no Stone was left unturn'd, nor no Threats nor Promiſes neglected. *Regulators* were ſent down to every *Corporation*, to model them to this end; though a great part of their Work had been done to their hand; for in moſt of the New *Charters* there had been ſuch *Regulations* made, and ſuch ſort of Men put in, as was thought would make all ſure. But

But to be yet ſurer, and to try the Inclinations of People, *Cloſetting* came into faſhion; and King *James* was at pains to ſound every man's mind, how far he might depend upon him for his concurrence with thoſe Deſigns: If they did not readily promiſe to ſerve the King *in his own way*, which was the *diſtinguiſhing word* at that time, there was ſome Brand put upon them, and they were turn'd out of Place, if they had any. Nor did King *James* think it below his Dignity, after the Prieſts had fail'd to bring in New *Converts*, to try himſelf how far his own Arguments might prevail; and he Cloſetted men for that purpoſe too. Some few of *no Principles*, and a great many others of *deſperate Fortunes*, complimented him with their Religion, and were generally thereupon put into Employments: And ſo fond was the King of making *Proſelites* at any rate, that there were of the *Scum* of the People, that pretended to turn Papiſts, merely for the ſake of a Weekly ſmall *Allowance*, which was regularly paid them. Cloſetting in faſhion.

It's a queſtion after all, whether the Parliament which K. *James* was thus labouring to model, would have anſwer'd his Expectation, had they come to ſit; for

mens eyes were open'd more and more every day; and the Noble *Principles* of *Engliſh* Liberty began to kindle afreſh in the Nation, notwithſtanding all the endeavours had been us'd of a long time to extinguiſh them. Though the Diſſenters who might be choſen into Parliament upon this new Model, would probably have made Terms for themſelves, to prevent their falling under any future Perſecution; yet being as averſe to Popery as any others whatſoever, it is not to be imagin'd that they would upon that Conſideration have unhindg'd the *Conſtitution* of *England*, to enable the *Roman Catholicks* to break in upon the Eſtabliſh'd National Church, which in the end muſt have inevitably ruin'd both it and themſelves.

But there fell out a little before this time, an *Accident* that help'd mightily to buoy up the ſinking Spirits of the Nation, and which was occaſion'd by the forward Zeal of ſome about the King, contrary to their Intentions. While the Project was going on to take off the *Penal Laws* and *Teſt*, and the Proteſtants were in a maze what to expect, the good Genius of *England*, and King *James*'s ill Fate, ſet him on to make a Trial of the Inclinations of the *Prince* and *Princeſs* of *Orange*,

Orange in that matter. The Prince and Princeſs had look'd on with a ſilent Regret upon all the unlucky Steps that were making in *England*, and were unwilling to publiſh their Opinion of them, ſince they knew it could not but be diſpleaſing to King *James*. To know their *Highneſſes* mind in the buſineſs of the *Penal Laws* and *Teſt*, was a thing the moſt deſir'd by the Proteſtants; but there was no poſſible way to come to this knowledge, if King *James* himſelf had not help'd them to it.

The Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*'s Opinion about the Penal Laws and Teſt, declar'd in Penſionary *Fagel*'s Letter.

Mr. *Stuart*, ſince Sir *James Stuart*, had been pardon'd by King *James*, and receiv'd into Favour, after a long Baniſhment: He had been acquainted in *Holland* with the late *Penſionary Fagel*, and perſuaded himſelf of a more than ordinary Friendſhip with that Wiſe *Miniſter*. The King foreſaw it was his Intereſt to find out, ſome one way or other, the Prince and Princeſs's Thoughts of theſe matters; which if they agreed with his own, were to be made publick; if otherwiſe, were to be conceal'd: And Mr. *Stuart* took that Task upon himſelf. Penſionary *Fagel* was in a great Poſt in *Holland*, and in a near Intimacy with the *Prince*; one that was entirely truſted by him, and ever firm to his In-

tereſt. To know the *Penſionary*'s Opinion was thought to be the ſame with knowing the Prince's, ſince it was to be ſuppos'd that he would not venture to write of any thing that concern'd *England*, eſpecially ſuch a nice Point as was then in queſtion, without the *Prince*'s Approbation at leaſt, if not his poſitive Direction.

Upon theſe Conſiderations, and upon a Miſtake that Mr. *Stuart* was in, about the Conſtitution of *Holland*, as if the *Roman-Catholicks* were not there excluded from Employments and Places of Truſt, he writ a Letter to Penſionary *Fagel*. It's needleſs to give any account of the Letter it ſelf, ſince *Fagel*'s Anſwer, together with what has been already ſaid, do give a ſufficient Hint of the Deſign and Scope of it.

So averſe were the *Prince* and *Princeſs* of *Orange* to meddle, and ſo unwilling to allow Penſionary *Fagel* to return to this Letter an Anſwer which they knew would not be pleaſing, that Mr. *Stuart* writ by the King's direction five or ſix more, before it was thought fit to anſwer them. But at length their *Highneſſes* were in a manner forc'd to it, by the Reports that were induſtriouſly ſpread abroad in *England* by the Emiſſaries of the

the Court, as if the *Penſionary* in an Anſwer to Mr. *Stuart*, had acquainted him, That the Prince and Princeſs agreed with the King in the Deſign of taking off the *Penal Laws* and *Teſt*. This was not all; for the Marqueſs *de Albeville*, the *Engliſh Envoy* at the *Hague*, was put upon writing over to ſeveral perſons, That the Prince of *Orange* had told him the very ſame thing; which *Letter* of *Albeville*'s was likewiſe made publick. Such Reports were enough to ſhake the Conſtancy of all thoſe that deſign'd to ſtand firm to the Intereſt of the Eſtabliſh'd Church in the enſuing Parliament, and to make them give all up for loſt.

To do themſelves Juſtice, and to diſabuſe a Nation they had ſo near an Intereſt in, *Penſionary Fagel* was directed by the *Prince* and *Princeſs*, to write one *Anſwer* to all Mr. *Stuart*'s Letters, to this purpoſe; *That being deſir'd by Mr.* Stuart *to let him know the Prince and Princeſs of* Orange*'s Thoughts concerning the Repeal of the Penal Laws, and more particularly concerning the Teſt; he told him, That he would write without Reſerve, ſince Mr.* Stuart *had ſaid in his Letters, that they were writ by the King's Knowledge and Allowance. That it was the Prince and Princeſs's Opinion,*

nion, That no Christian ought to be perſecuted for his Conſcience, or be ill us'd becauſe he differs from the Publick and Eſtabliſh'd Religion: And therefore, that they can conſent, That the Papiſts in England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *be ſuffer'd to continue in their Religion, with as much Liberty as is allow'd them by the States of* Holland; *in which it cannot be denied but they enjoy a full Liberty of Conſcience. And as to the Diſſenters, their Highneſſes did not only conſent, but did heartily approve of their having an entire Liberty for the full Exerciſe of their Religion: And that their Highneſſes were ready to concur to the ſetling and confirming this Liberty, and protect and defend it, and likewiſe confirm it with their Guarantee, which Mr.* Stuart *had mention'd.*

And if his Majeſty (continues the Penſionary) *deſires their Concurrence in Repealing the Penal Laws, their Highneſſes were ready to give it, provided theſe Laws remain ſtill in their full force, by which the* Roman-Catholicks *are ſhut out of both Houſes of Parliament, and out of all Publick Employments Eccleſiaſtical, Civil, and Military; as likewiſe thoſe other Laws which confirm the Proteſtant Religion, and which ſecure it againſt all the Attempts of the*

the Roman-Catholicks. *But their Highneſſes cannot agree to the Repeal of the Teſt, and thoſe other Penal Laws laſt mention'd, that tend to the Security of the Proteſtant Religion*; *ſince the* Roman-Catholicks *receive no other Prejudices from theſe, than the being excluded from Parliament, and Publick Employments.*

More than this (adds Penſionary *Fagel*) *their Highneſſes do think ought not be ask'd or expected*; *and they wondred how any that profeſs'd themſelves Chriſtians, and that may enjoy their Religion freely and without diſturbance, can judge it lawful for them to diſturb the Quiet of any Kingdom or State, or overturn Conſtitutions, that ſo they themſelves may be admitted to Employments, and that theſe Laws, in which the Security and Quiet of the Eſtabliſh'd Religion conſiſts, ſhould be ſhaken. And as to what Mr.* Stuart *had writ, That the* Roman-Catholicks *in* Holland *were not ſhut out from Employments and Places of Truſt*, he tells him, *He was groſly miſtaken.* The Penſionary concludes, *That their Highneſſes could not concur with his Majeſty in theſe matters*; *for they believ'd they ſhould have much to anſwer to God for, if the conſideration of any preſent Advantage ſhould carry them to conſent to things which they*

they believe would not only be dangerous, but miſchievous to the Proteſtant Religion.

Thus far Penſionary *Fagel.* And I would not have dwelt ſo long upon this Letter of his, if it were not for the Noble Scheme of a juſt *Liberty* in matters of Conſcience, that's therein contain'd. Notwithſtanding, it was ſtill given out at Court, and that even after it came to Mr. *Stuart*'s hands, That he had writ the quite contrary; though it's but Charity to ſuppoſe that Mr. *Stuart* was a Man of more Honour than to contribute to the Report. At laſt there was a neceſſity of making publick the Penſionary's *Letter* in ſeveral Languages, which had wonderful Influence upon the Minds of the Proteſtants of *England*, and was highly reſented by King *James.*

However, King *James* had more than one Method in his View, how to accompliſh his Deſign; for what a Parliament it may be would not do, he was reſolv'd that an Army ſhould; and therefore Care was taken to model his Troops as much to that end, as the ſhortneſs of time would allow.

The Modelling of the Army.

Ireland was the inexhauſtible Source whence *England* was to be furniſh'd with a *Romiſh*

a *Romiſh* Army; and an *Iriſh Roman-Catholick* was the moſt welcome Gueſt at *Whitehall*. They came over in Shoals to take poſſeſſion of the promis'd Land; and had already ſwallow'd up in their Hopes the beſt Eſtates of the Hereticks in *England*. Over and above compleat *Regiments* of them, there was ſcarce a *Troop* or *Company* wherein ſome of them were not plac'd by expreſs Order from Court. Several Proteſtants that had ſerv'd well and long, were turn'd out to make room for them; and Seven conſiderable Officers were caſhier'd in one day, merely for refuſing to admit them. The chief *Forts*, and particularly *Portſmouth* and *Hull*, the two Keys of *England*, were put into Popiſh Hands, and the Gariſons ſo modell'd, that the Majority were Papiſts.

To over-awe the Nation, and to make Slavery familiar, this Army was *encamp'd* Yearly near *London*; where the only Publick *Chappel* in the Camp was appointed for the Service of the *Romiſh* Church, and ſtrict Orders given out, That the Soldiers of that Religion ſhould not fail every *Sunday* and Holiday to repair thither to *Maſs*.

As

The Methods us'd in *Ireland.*

As *Ireland* was remarkable for having furnish'd King *James* with *Romish* Troops sent into *England*, so was it much more for the bare-fac'd and open Invasions that were made there, upon the Liberties and Rights of the Protestants. That Kingdom was the most proper Field to ripen their Projects in, considering that the Protestants were much out-number'd by the Papists, and had been for some Ages the constant Object of their Rancour and Envy, which had been more than once express'd in Letters of Blood.

Tyrconnel made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland.*

King *James* did recall the Earl of *Clarendon* from the Government of *Ireland*, soon after he was sent thither, and appointed the Earl of *Tyrconnel* to succeed him, who was a Gentleman had signaliz'd himself for his Bigotry to the Church of *Rome*, and his Hatred to the Protestants. The *Roman-Catholick* Clergy had recommended him to King *James* for that Post, in a Letter mention'd at length in the *Appendix*, *As one that did first espouse, and chiefly maintain the Cause of the Catholick Clergy against their many and powerful Enemies, for the last Five and twenty Years; and was then the only Person under whose Fortitude and Popularity in that Kingdom, they durst with chearfulness and*

Appendix, Numb. 21.

and aſſurance own their Loyalty, and aſſert his Majeſty's Intereſt. Making it therefore their humble Requeſt, *That his Majeſty would be pleas'd to lodge his Authority in his hands, to the Terror of the Factious, and Encouragement of his Majeſty's faithful Subjects in* Ireland; *promiſing to receive him with ſuch Acclamations as the long-captiv'd* Jews *did their Redeemer* Mordecai. Which Letter ſhow'd they were no leſs miſtaken in their Hiſtory of the Bible, than their Advice to the King; for it does not appear by the Story of *Mordecai* in the Scripture, that he was ever ſent to the *Jews*, or remov'd from the City of *Suſa*, after he came into Favour with *Ahaſuerus*.

However, *Tyrconnel* fully anſwer'd the hopes and expectations of the Papiſts, and the fears of the Proteſtants of *Ireland*; for by the Miniſtry of this Rigid Man was the Ruin of the Proteſtant *Engliſh* Intereſt in that Kingdom in a great meaſure compleated.

At King *James*'s Acceſſion to the Crown, the *Army* of *Ireland* conſiſted of about *Seven Thouſand* Men, all Proteſtants, and zealous to the Service: Theſe were in a little time all turn'd out, and the whole Army made up of Papiſts, moſt of them

them the Sons and Deſcendants, or near Relations of thoſe that were Attainted for the *Rebellion* in 1641; or others that had diſtinguiſh'd themſelves ſince that time, by their notorious Villanies, and implacable Hatred to the *Engliſh* and Proteſtant Intereſt.

The Manner of filling up the Benches in *Ireland*.

Though in King *Charles*'s time, by the Influence of the Duke of *York*, there had been grounds of Complaint againſt ſome of the Judges in *Ireland*, upon the account of their Partiality to the Papiſts, yet when King *James* came to the Crown theſe very Judges were not thought fit enough for the Work that was deſign'd. It was judg'd neceſſary to employ the moſt zealous of the *Party*, thoſe that from Intereſt and Inclination were the moſt deeply engag'd to deſtroy the Proteſtant Intereſt; and accordingly ſuch were pick'd out to ſit in every Court of Juſtice.

The Cuſtody of the King's Conſcience and *Great Seal*, was given to Sir *Alexander Fitton*, a Perſon convicted of *Forgery*, not only at *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and at *Cheſter*, but Fin'd for it by the Lords in Parliament. This Man was taken out of Gaol, to diſcharge the Truſt of Lord *High Chancellor*, and had no

no other Qualities to recommend him, beſides his being a *Convert* to the *Romiſh* Church, and a *Renegado* to his Religion and Countrey. To him were added as Maſters of *Chancery*, one *Stafford* a Popiſh Prieſt, and *O Neal*, the Son of one of the moſt notorious Murderers in the *Maſſacre*, 1641.

In the *Kings Bench* care was taken to place one *Nugent*, whoſe Father had loſt his Honour and Eſtate, for being a principal Actor in the ſame *Rebellion*. This Man, who had never made any figure at the Bar, was pitch'd upon to judge whether the *Outlawries* againſt his Father and Fellow-Rebels, ought to be Revers'd; and whether the Settlements that were made in *Ireland* upon theſe Outlawries, ought to ſtand good.

The next Court is that of *Exthequer*, from which only of all the Courts in *Ireland*, there lies no Appeal, or Writ of Error in *England*. It was thought fit, that one *Rice*, a profligate Fellow, and noted for nothing but Gaming, and a mortal Inveteracy againſt the Proteſtants, ſhould fill the place of Lord *Chief Baron*. This man was often heard to ſay, before he came to be a Judge, *That he would drive a Coach and Six Horſes through the*

Act of Settlement: And before that Law was actually Repeal'd in King *James*'s Parliament, he declar'd upon the Bench, *That it was againſt Natural Equity, and did not oblige.* It was before him, that all the *Charters* in the Kingdom were damn'd in the ſpace of a *Term* or two; ſo much was he for diſpach. A Learned *Prelate*, from whoſe Book all the things that here relate to that Countrey are taken, does obſerve, That if this Judge had been left alone, it was believ'd in a few Years he would by ſome Contrivance or another have given away moſt of the Proteſtants Eſtates in *Ireland*, without troubling a Parliament to *Attaint* them.

Dr. *King*, Biſhop of *Londonderry*, his State of *Ireland* under K. *James*.

In the Court of *Common-Pleas* it was though adviſable, that a Proteſtant *Chief Juſtice* ſhould continue; yet ſo, as to pinion him with Two of their own ſort, that might out-vote him upon occaſion.

The Adminiſtration of Juſtice and the Laws being in ſuch hands, it was no wonder that the poor Proteſtants in *Ireland* wiſh'd rather to have had no Laws at all, and be left to their Natural Defence, than be cheated into the neceſſity of ſubmitting to Laws, that were executed only to puniſh, and not to protect them. Under ſuch Judges the *Roman-Catholicks*

Catholicks had a glorious time; and be their Cauſe never ſo unjuſt, they were ſure to carry it: When the Lord Chancellor did not ſtick on all occaſions, and ſometimes upon the Bench, to declare, *That the Proteſtants were all Rogues; and that among Forty thouſand of them, there was not one that was not a Traytor, a Rebel, and a Villain.*

The Supreme Courts being thus fill'd up, it was but reaſonable all other Courts ſhould keep pace with them. In the Year 1687. there was not a Proteſtant *Sheriff* in the whole Kingdom, except one, and he put in by miſtake for another of the ſame Name, that was a *Roman-Catholick*. Some few Proteſtants were continued in the *Commiſſion of the Peace*; but they were render'd uſeleſs and inſignificant, being over-power'd in every thing by the greater Number of Papiſts join'd in Commiſſion with them, and thoſe, for the moſt part, of the very Scum of the People; and a great many, whoſe Fathers had been executed for Theft, Robbery, or Murther.

The *Privy-Council* of *Ireland* is a great part of the *Conſtitution*, and has conſiderable Privileges and Power annex'd to it: This was likewiſe ſo modell'd, that

the Papiſts made the Majority; and thoſe few that were Proteſtants, choſe for the moſt part to decline appearing at the *Board*, ſince they could do thoſe of their Religion no ſervice.

The Regulating the Corporations in *Ireland*

The great *Barrier* of the Peoples Liberties both in *England* and *Ireland* being their Right to chuſe their own *Repreſentatives* in Parliament, which being once taken away, they become Slaves to the Will of their Prince; The Proteſtants in *Ireland* finding a neceſſity of ſecuring this Right in their own hands, had procur'd many *Corporations* to be founded, and had built many Corporate Towns upon their own Charges; from all which the *Roman Catholicks* were by their *Charters* excluded. This *Barrier* was broken through at one ſtroke, by diſſolving all the *Corporations* in the Kingdom, upon *Quo Warranto's* brought into the *Exchequer Court*, and that without ſo much as the leaſt ſhadow of Law. Hereupon New *Charters* were granted, and fill'd up chiefly with Papiſts, and men of deſperate or no Fortunes: And a Clauſe was inſerted in every one of them, which ſubjected them to the Abſolute Will of the King; by which it was put in the Power of the chief Governor to turn out and

and put in whom he pleas'd, without ſhowing a Reaſon, or any formal Trial at Law.

The Proteſtant Clergy felt upon all occaſions the weight of *Tyrconnel*'s Wrath. The *Prieſts* began to declare openly, That the *Tythes* belong'd to them; and forbad their people under the pain of Damnation, to pay them to the Proteſtant Incumbents. This paſt afterwards into an *Act* of Parliament, by which not only all Tythes payable by Papiſts, were given to their own Prieſts, but likewiſe a way was found out to make the Popiſh Clergy capable of enjoying the Proteſtants Tythes: Which was thus: If a Proteſtant happen'd to be poſſeſs'd of a *Biſhoprick*, a *Dignity*, or other *Living*, he might not by this new Act demand any Tythes or Eccleſiaſtical Dues from any *Roman-Catholick*; and as ſoon as his Preferment became void by Death, Ceſſion, or Abſence, a Popiſh Biſhop or Clergyman was put into his Place. And the Act was ſo expreſs, that there needed no more to oblige all men to repute and deem a man to be a *Roman-Catholick* Biſhop or Dean of any place, but the King's ſignifying him to be ſo, under his Privy Signet, or Sign Manual. As ſoon as any

The Severities againſt the Proteſtant Clergy.

one came to be thus entitled to a Biſhoprick, Deanry, or Living, immediately all the Tythes, as well of Proteſtants as Papiſts, became due to him, with all the Glebes and Eccleſiaſtical Dues.

Againſt the Univerſity of *Dublin.*

The only great Nurſery of Learning in *Ireland*, is the *Univerſity* of *Dublin*, conſiſting of a *Provoſt*, Seven Senior, and Nine Junior *Fellows*, and Seventy *Scholars*, who are partly maintain'd by a Yearly *Salary* out of the Exchequer. This *Salary* the Earl of *Tyrconnel* ſtopt, merely for their not admitting into a vacant *Fellowſhip*, contrary to their Statutes and Oaths, a Vicious, Ignorant Perſon, who was a New Convert. Nor could he be prevail'd with by any Interceſſion or Intreaty, to remove the Stop; by which in effect he diſſolv'd the *Foundation*, and ſhut up the Fountain of Learning and Religion. This appear'd more plainly afterwards to have been his Deſign; for it was not thought enough upon King *James*'s Arrival, to take away their Maintenance, but they were further proceeded againſt, and the Vicepreſident, Fellows, and Scholars all turn'd out, their Furniture, Library, and Communion-Plate ſeiz'd, and every thing that belong'd

belong'd to the College, and to the private Fellows and Scholars, taken away. All this was done, notwithſtanding that when they waited upon King *James* at his firſt Arrival at *Dublin*, he was pleas'd to promiſe them, That *he would preſerve them in their Liberties and Properties, and rather augment than diminiſh the Priviledges and Immunities that had been granted them by his Predeceſſors.* In the *Houſe* they plac'd a Gariſon, and turn'd the *Chappel* into a Magazine, and the Chambers into Priſons for the Proteſtants. One *More*, a Popiſh Prieſt, was made *Provoſt*, and one *Mackarty*, alſo a Prieſt, was made *Library-keeper*, and the whole deſign'd for them and their *Fraternity*.

One *Archbiſhoprick*, and ſeveral *Biſhopricks*, and a great many other Dignities and Livings of the Church, were deſignedly kept vacant, and the Revenues firſt paid into the *Exchequer*, and afterwards diſpos'd of to *Titular* Biſhops and Prieſts, while in the mean time the Cures lay neglected; ſo that it appear'd plainly that the Deſign was to deſtroy the Succeſſion of Proteſtant Clergymen. At length things came to that height after King *James* was in *Ireland*, that moſt of the Churches in and about *Dublin*, were

seiz'd upon by the Government; and at last *Lutterell*, Governor of *Dublin*, issued out his *Order*, mention'd in the *Appendix*, *Forbidding more than Five Protestants to meet together, under pain of Death.* Being ask'd whether this was design'd to hinder meeting in Churches? He answer'd, It was design'd to hinder their meeting there, as well as in other places. And accordingly all the Churches were shut up, and all Religious Assemblies through the whole Kingdom forbidden, under the pain of Death.

Appendix, Numb. 22.

The Act of Attainder in *Ireland.*

It were endless to enumerate all the Miseries that Reverend *Author* mentions, which the Protestants of *Ireland* suffer'd in the Reign of King *James:* But to give a decisive Blow, there was an *Act of Attainder* past in Parliament; in order to which every Member of the House of Commons return'd the Names of all such Protestant Gentlemen as liv'd near them, or in the County or Borough for which he serv'd; and if he was a Stranger to any of them, he sent to the Countrey for Information about them. When this *Bill* was presented to the King for his *Assent*, the Speaker of the House of Commons told him, *That many were attainted in*

in that Act upon ſuch Evidence as ſatisfied the Houſe, and the reſt upon common Fame.

In this *Act* there were no fewer Attainted, than *Two Archbiſhops, One Duke, Seventeen Earls, Seven Counteſſes, Twenty eight Viſcounts, Two Viſcounteſſes, Seven Biſhops, Eighteen Barons, Thirty three Baronets, Fifty one Knights, Eighty three Clergymen, Two thouſand one hundred eighty two Eſquires and Gentlemen:* And all of them unheard, *declar'd and adjudg'd Traytors, convicted and attainted of High Treaſon, and adjudg'd to ſuffer the pains of Death and Forfeiture.* The famous *Proſcription* of *Rome* during the laſt *Triumvirate*, came not up in ſome reſpects to the Horror of this; for there were condemn'd in this little Kingdom more than double the Number that were *proſcrib'd* through the vaſt Bounds of the *Roman* Empire. And to make this of *Ireland* yet the more terrible, and to put the Perſons Attainted out of a poſſibility of eſcaping, the *Act* it ſelf was conceal'd, and no Proteſtant allow'd a Copy of it, till Four Months after it was paſt. Whereas in that of *Rome*, the Names of the Perſons *proſcrib'd* were affix'd upon all the Publick Places of the City, the very day the Proſcription was concerted; and

and thereby opportunity was given to many of the Nobleſt Families in *Rome*, to preſerve themſelves by a ſpeedy flight, for better Times.

There remain'd but one Kingdom more for the *Romiſh Party* to act their Deſigns in; and that was *Scotland*; where they reap'd a full Harveſt of their Hopes, and there were ſcarce left the leaſt Remains of Ancient Liberty in that Nation. Their Miſeries were ſumm'd up in one new-coin'd Word, which was us'd in all the King's *Declarations*, and ſerv'd to expreſs to the full their Abſolute Slavery; which was this, *That his Subjects were oblig'd to obey him without Reſerve.* A Word that the Princes of the *Eaſt*, how Abſolute ſoever they be, did never yet pretend to in their Stile, whatever they might in their Actions. But I leave the Detail of the Encroachments that were made upon the Laws and Liberties of that Kingdom, to others that may be thought more impartial, as having ſuffer'd leſs in their Ruins.

The Intereſt that Foreign Princes and States had in *England.*

While King *James* was thus puſh'd on by a headſtrong Party, to enſlave his Subjects, the other *Princes* and *States* of *Europe* look'd on with quite different Sentiments, according as their own Intereſts and

and Safety mov'd them. The greater part did commiſerate the Fate of theſe Three Kingdoms, and wiſh'd for their Deliverance. The Proteſtants ſaw with Regret, that they themſelves were within an immediate Proſpect of loſing the moſt conſiderable Support of their Religion; and both they and the *Roman-Catholicks* were equally convinc'd, that it was their common Intereſt to have *England* continue in a condition to be the Arbiter of *Chriſtendom*, eſpecially at a time when they ſaw they moſt needed it. On the other hand, it was the Intereſt of another Prince, that not only the King of *England* ſhould be his Friend, but the Kingdom of *England* ſhould become inconſiderable abroad, which it could not fail to be when enſlav'd at home.

King *James* had been again and again ſollicited, not only by Proteſtant Princes but thoſe of his own Religion, to enter into other Meaſures for the common Safety of *Europe*; at leaſt, not to contribute to its Ruin, by eſpouſing an Intereſt which they judg'd was oppoſite to it. The *Emperor*, among others, had by his *Ambaſſador* made repeated Inſtances to him to this purpoſe, but with no better Succeſs than the reſt; as appears by a

Letter

The Emperor's Letter to K. *James* in *Latin*, printed at *London*, 1689.

Letter he writ to him after his *Abdication*, which has been Printed in ſeveral Languages, and was conceiv'd in Elegant *Latin*, as all the Publick *Diſpatches* of that Court are. But all theſe Remonſtrances had no weight with King *James*; though they had this good effect in the end, as to put thoſe *Princes* and *States* upon ſuch Meaſures as ſecur'd to them the Friendſhip of *England* in another way.

The Power of *France* was by this time become the Terror and Envy of the reſt of *Europe*; and that *Crown* had upon all ſides extended its *Conqueſts*. The *Empire*, *Spain*, and *Holland* ſeem'd to enjoy a *precarious Peace*, while the common *Enemy of the Chriſtian Name* was making War with the *Emperor*, and the *State of Venice*, and was once very near being Maſter of the *Imperial Seat*, whereby he might have carried the War into the Bowels of *Germany*. The main Strength of the *Empire* being turn'd againſt the *Turks*, and that with various Succeſs, there was another War declar'd againſt the *Emperor* by *France*; ſo that it came to be abſolutely neceſſary for *Spain* and *Holland* to interpoſe, not as Mediators, for that they were not to hope for, but as

as *Allies* and Partners in the War. These last, as well as the other Princes and *States* that lay nearest the *Rhine*, were expos'd to the Mercy of a Prince whom they were not able to resist, if *England* should look on as Neuters, or take part against them; the last of which they had reason to fear.

Thus it happen'd that the Fortune of *England*, and that of the greatest part of *Christendom* came to be link'd together, and their common Liberties must of necessity have undergone one and the same Fate. The latter, from a Natural Principle of Self-Preservation were resolv'd to make their last Effort to break the *Fetters* which they saw were ready to be impos'd upon them: And the other, animated by the Example of their *Ancestors*, and the *Constitution* of their Countrey, which is diametrically opposite to Tyranny, were resolv'd to venture *All*, to retrieve themselves and their Posterity from the *Chains* that were already put upon them.

Both the one and the others might have struggled in vain to this day with the Ruin that threaten'd them, if Heaven in pity to their Condition had not provided in the Person of the *Prince of Orange*,

The Interest the Prince of *Orange* had in *England*.

Orange, the only Sanctuary that was left them to ſhelter their ſinking State. This Prince by his Mother was a *Nephew* of *England*, and in Right of the *Princeſs* his Wife, the Preſumptive Heir of the Crown. By his Father's ſide he was Heir of an Illuſtrious Family, that had eterniz'd their Name, by delivering their Countrey from Slavery, and laying the Foundation of a mighty *Commonwealth*, which has ſince prov'd the greateſt *Bulwark* of the Proteſtant Religion, and the chief *Support* of the Liberty of *Chriſtendom*. A Family born for the good of Mankind, to be the Scourge of Tyrants, and Deliverers of the Oppreſs'd.

The ill Circumſtances of the Houſe of *Orange* at his Birth.

The Father of this Prince died young, poſſeſs'd of Hereditary *Dignities* he deriv'd from his Anceſtors in the *States of the United Provinces*, which had plac'd them upon a Level with moſt Princes of *Europe*, and had given them a Figure in the World equal to ſome *Crown'd Heads*. He had married a *Princeſs* of *England*, the Eldeſt Daughter of King *Charles* I. and left her with Child of this only Son, at a Time when the Royal Family of *England* was not only bereft of their Regal Power at Home, but forc'd to ſeek Refuge Abroad. The Father was ſcarce dead,

dead, and the Son yet unborn, when a Party in *Holland* that always oppos'd the *Houſe* of *Orange*, took hold of that unhappy Juncture, to diveſt the Family by a Publick *Decree*, of all the *Dignities* and *Offices* they had enjoy'd ſince the firſt Foundation of that *Commonwealth*, and which they had ſo juſtly acquir'd as the Rewards of ſo many glorious Services they had done their Countrey.

Under theſe diſmal Circumſtances was the Prince of *Orange*, now King of *England*, born: And in Apartments hung with Mourning, for the Untimely Death of a Father, and the Murther of a Royal Grandfather, he firſt ſaw Light.

He was about Ten Years of Age, when his Uncle King *Charles* the Second was reſtor'd; and whether it proceeded from want of Power or of Will in the one, the Condition of the other was little better'd by that Change. It's true, King *Charles* in his Wars with *Holland* did always mention the Injury done to his *Nephew*, as one of the Motives of his breaking with the *States*: Yet neither in the *Treaty* of *Breda* in 1667. nor in the *Alliance* made at the *Hague* in 1668. nor that of the *Peace* concluded at *London* in 167¾. was there any notice taken of the Prince

Prince of *Orange*'s Intereſt. In this laſt it's confeſs'd it was needleſs, ſeeing ſome little time before, he was Reſtor'd to all his Hereditary *Offices* and *Dignities* upon the following Occaſion.

The manner he was reſtor'd to the Dignities of his Family.

King *Charles*, the *French King*, and the Biſhop of *Munſter*, had enter'd into a mutual *League* againſt the *Hollanders* in the Year 1672. While in purſuance of that *League*, King *Charles*, without any previous Declaration of War, did ſend out a ſtrong Squadron of Ships to intercept their *Smyrna* Fleet, and ruin their Trade at Sea; and while the Biſhop of *Munſter* did invade the *Provinces* that lay next to him, the *French* King, at the Head of a *Royal Army* of at leaſt 118000 Foot, and 26000 Horſe, broke in upon them on the other ſide. Like an Impetuous Torrent he carried all before him, without any remarkable oppoſition, making himſelf Maſter in a few Weeks, of above Forty *Towns* and places of Strength, ſome without firing a Gun, and the reſt with little or no Reſiſtance. This Army was compos'd of the beſt *Troops* that had been ſeen together for ſome Ages before, and was made up of ſeveral Nations. Over above the *French* themſelves, there were 3000 *Engliſh*, 3000 *Catalans*, 3000 *Genoeſe*,

Genoeſe, and other *Italians*, 6000 *Savoyards*, 1200 *German* Horſe, 10000 *Swiſſers*, without reckoning into the Number the Ancient Regiments of that Nation in the *French* Service; and which was altogether new and extraordinary, there was a Regiment of *Swiſs* Horſe. Under the King in Perſon, this Army was commanded by Two of the greateſt *Generals* of the Age, the late Prince of *Conde*, and the Mareſchal *Turenne*.

The deſperate Condition of *Holland*, *An.* 1672.

Never was any *State* nearer its Ruin, than that of *Holland* was upon this Irruption; and in the opinion of all the World, the end of that flouriſhing *Republick* was then at hand. The *French* pierc'd into the Bowels of *Holland* as far as *Utrecht*, where the King kept a ſplendid *Court*, and receiv'd *Embaſſies* from all Parts. He was already Maſter of *Three* of the *Seven Provinces*, and a *Fourth* was in the hands of the Biſhop of *Munſter* his Ally. The Conſternation was ſo great in the reſt, that it's ſaid it was debated at *Amſterdam*, whether they ſhould ſend the *Keys* of that Town to the *French* King at *Utrecht*, or hold out a *Siege*.

Scarce any thing can paint out in livelier Colours the low *Ebb* the *Commonwealth* of *Holland* was brought to at that

time, than the *Declaration* which the *French* King publiſh'd at *Arnheim*, plac'd at length in the *Appendix*. In this the *French* King declar'd that all the Inhabitants of the Towns in *Holland* that ſhould render themſelves willingly his Subjects, and receive his Troops, ſhould not only be treated favourably, but likewiſe be maintain'd in their Liberties and Privileges, and enjoy the free Exerciſe of their Religion: But upon the contrary, whoever of them did not ſubmit themſelves, of whatever degree or condition they be, or ſhould endeavour to reſiſt his Arms, by opening their *Sluces*, or any other way, they ſhould be puniſh'd with the utmoſt Rigor; *his Majeſty being reſolv'd to give no Quarter to the Inhabitants of thoſe Towns that ſhall reſiſt his Arms, but an Order to pillage their Goods, and burn their Houſes.*

Appendix, Numb. 23.

The Cauſes of that Deſolation.

Among the more immediate Cauſes of this ſurprizing *Deſolation* of *Holland*, upon the Irruption of the *French* Army, there were chiefly theſe two: 1. The ſupine Security, or rather profound Lethargy they were of late fallen into. And 2. Their Inteſtine Diviſions.

As to the firſt, A vaſt Opulent *Trade* through moſt parts of the World, had won-

wonderfully enrich'd them, and brought them to neglect and forget the Art of War. A Peace that had continued without any remarkable Interruption for about Twenty Years at Land, lull'd them ſo faſt aſleep with falſe Notions of their own Strength, that they had neglected their Fortifications and Martial Diſcipline, and were brought to believe, that their Neighbour's Gariſons and Strong Places were ſufficient to cover them from all Inſults.

As to the ſecond, Their Anceſtors at the firſt founding their *State*, taking into their Conſideration, that they were to raiſe a *Commonwealth* out of a great many *diſtinct* Governments independent originally of one another, and govern'd by Cuſtoms and Laws peculiar to every Town and Province, and how difficult it was to prevent Inteſtine Diviſions in a Body thus aggregated, did wiſely provide againſt ſuch a deſtructive Inconvenience, by conſtituting an *Hereditary Stadtholder and Captain General*, whoſe *Office* and *Power* was to be the *Center* in which all the various Lines of their *Conſtitution* ſhould meet, and the *Cement* that ſhould keep the whole *Frame* together. This High and Important *Dignity*

was lodg'd in the *Family* of *Orange*; and it was to the Auſpicious Conduct of the Princes of that *Houſe*, that the *States* of *Holland* ow'd their firſt Settlement, and the Figure they have made ever ſince in the World.

What their Anceſtors foreſaw, and had thus wiſely provided againſt, came to paſs: For no ſooner was this *Office* and *Dignity* aboliſh'd, upon the Death of the laſt Prince of *Orange*, through the Intereſt of a prevailing Faction, but they fell into Inteſtine Diviſions and Animoſities at Home, and ſunk in their Reputation Abroad: Inſomuch that it was juſtly ſaid, *That inſtead of being the United, they were become the Diſunited Provinces.*

There may be a Third Reaſon given for this Chain of Misfortunes that overwhelm'd the *Hollanders* the firſt Year of this War. From a falſe, though plauſible Notion of ſaving Money, they thought fit to reduce their Army to 25000 men, and rejected the repeated Propoſitions of *Spain* to enter into a *Treaty* with them for a mutual Supply of Money Yearly to *England* and *Sueden*, by which theſe Two Crowns might be enabled and encourag'd to maintain and continue *the Triple League*. And which was yet

yet worſe, the few Troops they had, were in a bad Condition, and ſunk to a very low degree both in Diſcipline and Courage. Their *Fortifications* were every where fallen into decay, and their *Magazines* ill provided. To compleat all their Misfortunes, they wanted a *Head* to command them, at leaſt one of Weight and Authority enough to ſupport ſo great a *Truſt*.

It were in vain to attempt to expreſs the deplorable Condition of the *Hollanders* at that time. It's enough to ſay, The approach of a Triumphant King fleſh'd with Victories, put them into ſo deep a Conſternation, that a great many of their Richeſt Families abandon'd their Countrey, and retir'd to *Hamburgh*, *Antwerp*, and other places of Security; while the *States-General* gave Orders for removing the *Courts* and *Archives* from the *Hague*, for fear they ſhould fall into the Enemies hands. This horrid Fright, which ſpread it ſelf every where, and grew every day greater, was ſufficient of it ſelf to occaſion the entire Ruin of their *State*, though it had not been accompanied as it was, with *Seditions*, *Diviſions*, and *Tumults* in every *Town* and *Province*, and no Enemy within their Bowels.

Thoſe alone did naturally tend to the Diſſolution of the *Belgick Union*, without any other concurring Circumſtances to hurry it on.

Matters ſtanding thus with the *United Provinces*, they came to ſee, when it was almoſt too late, their former Errors, and more particularly that of aboliſhing the *Office* of *Stadtholder*. And now, as the laſt *Caſt* for their *Liberty*, they applied to the *Prince* of *Orange*, young though he was, as the only Perſon capable to ſupport their Tottering *State*, and to put a ſtop to the Miſeries that overwhelm'd their Countrey. With the Univerſal Conſent and Approbation of the People, and the Publick *Sanction* of the *States*, he was declar'd *Stadtholder*, *Captain and Admiral-General*, and reſtor'd to all the *Dignities* of his Family.

It's hard to determine whether the Misfortunes of his Countrey, or the Univerſal Love the People bore him, contributed moſt to his *Reſtoration*. However, he was reſtor'd in ſpite of the *Barnevelt Faction*; and had the pleaſure to ſee *De-Wit*, the greateſt Oppoſer of his *Houſe*, among the other *Deputies* that waited upon him with the Reſolutions of the *States-General*, and deliver'd him his *Commiſſion*. The

The Difficulties this Young Prince had to ſtruggle with, in ſupporting his ſinking Countrey, would have pall'd any Courage but his own; and may in the main be gather'd from what has been already ſaid. What theſe were, upon his firſt heading the Army, are in part ſo well expreſs'd by a *French Author*, who was a conſiderable Actor in that War on the *French* ſide, and has writ the Account of it with an Impartiality not over-frequent among the Hiſtorians of his Countrey, that it may not be amiſs to Tranſcribe ſome few Paſſages relating to this matter, as they lye together in the *Engliſh* Tranſlation.

The Hiſtory of the Mareſchal *Turenne*, by Monſieur *de Buſſon*, render'd out of *French* by *Ferrand Spence*, 1686.

"Nothing but the Seaſon of the Year, "*ſays he*, hinder'd the *French* from at- "tempting new Conqueſts, or rather "the Waters which cover'd the Surface of "the Earth. The Duke of *Luxenburgh* "being ſtill at *Utrecht*, hop'd however, "that if it once came to freeze, he might "by means of the Ice ſurprize ſeveral "*Poſts* that were otherwiſe inacceſſible. "As the Enemy (*meaning the* Holland- "ers) were not unacquainted with his "Deſign, they had ever the Shovel and "Pickaxe in their hands, to precaution

The difficulties the P. of *Orange* had to grapple with for retrieving his Countrey from Ruin.

"themſelves againſt this Misfortune,
"upon the firſt Froſt that ſhould come.
"They broke the leaſt piece of Ice,
"hoping by taking ſuch ſtrict care, they
"ſhould render all his Meaſures abor-
"tive. But it happening to freeze all of
"a ſudden, it was impoſſible for them to
"repair in ſeveral days what fell out in
"one Night. This caſt ſo great an
"Alarm into the Places that were the
"moſt expos'd, that Peoples minds were
"wholly ſet upon removing thence what
"they had moſt precious

"The Conſternation ſpread it ſelf to
"the very *Hague*, which being deſtitute
"of Walls and Defence, could not other-
"wiſe expect but a ſtrange Deſolation, if
"the *Poſts* that cover'd it came to be
"forc'd. However, the Prince of *Orange*,
"*who laid the Publick Miſeries as much to*
"*heart, as if they had only regarded him-*
"*ſelf*, had not for all this been under any
"Apprehenſions, if his Troops, by be-
"ing ſo often beaten, had not utterly
"loſt their Courage; For though the
"Ice ſeem'd to give a great Advantage
"to the *French*, they would however
"run a great Riſque, in coming to at-
"tack him in places well intrench'd, and
"where his *Highneſs* might oppoſe

"againſt

"againſt them as many Men as they "could have. He was buſied Day and "Night either in adding new Fortifica- "tions to thoſe that were already made, "or in encouraging his Captains and "Soldiers. But whatever care he took, "Colonel *Penvin*, abandon'd his *Poſt* "upon the Requeſt of the Inhabitants "of *Dergau*, who ſent for him to main- "tain their Walls. The Duke of *Luxem-* "*burgh* truſting rather to the Terror than "the Strength of his Troops, marching "in the mean while towards *Bodegrave* "and *Swammerdam*, won both, Sword in "hand. And as if this Action had not "been ſufficiently glorious by reaſon of "the little Oppoſition he met with, he "would render it the more remarkable, "not only by the Slaughter that he made "of thoſe that were found in Arms, but "of all ſorts of Perſons, even Women "and Children. He was often heard, "amidſt the piteous Cries that every one "made to move him to Compaſſion, to "bid his Soldiers give no Quarter, but "Plunder, Raviſh, and Kill. He him- "ſelf did what he ſaid; and his Men, "after his Example, having delug'd the "Streets with Rivers of Blood, entred "the Houſes, where they committed in- "conceivable

The D. of *Luxemburgh's* Cruelties at *Swammerdam*.

"conceivable Cruelties. Several Wo-
"men were violated in their Husbands
"Arms, several Maidens in their Fa-
"thers; and whoever went about to op-
"pose such Criminal Excesses, was piti-
"lesly massacred by these *Furies*, who
"suffer'd themselves to be no longer go-
"vern'd, but by their disorderly Passion,
"and by their Cruelty. *Thus far my Author.*

Notwithstanding these Difficulties and Discouragements that seem'd insuperable, wonderful and surprizing were the Consequences of the Prince of *Orange*'s Restoration. As if that *Family* alone were design'd of Heaven to be the *Founder* and *Restorer* of *Holland:* It fell out, that immediately upon his being call'd to the *Helm*, the whole Scene of their Affairs chang'd to the better. At the Head of a small ill-disciplin'd Army, discourag'd by continual Losses, he not only put a Stop to the *French Conquests*, but by taking first *Naerden* in spite of an Army near four times greater than his own, and carrying afterwards the War out of his own Countrey, he oblig'd the Enemy to abandon their Conquests in *Holland* as fast as they had gain'd them, and be con-

contented to retire to the Defence of their own *Frontiers*.

This War was attended with various Succeſſes on all ſides; and moſt of the Princes of *Europe* came to be ſome way or other engag'd in it; till at laſt it ended in the *Treaty* of *Nimeguen*. The part King *Charles* acted in all theſe *Tranſactions*, contributed but little to his Glory, for he had been unſucceſsful while he was engag'd in the War; and when he came to be a *Mediator* for the Peace, all Parties grew jealous of him, and neglected him.

It was during the Courſe of this War, as has been ſaid before, that King *Charles* aton'd for all the Errors of his Reign, by marrying his *Niece*, the Lady *Mary*, to the *Prince of Orange*: And whatever were the Motives that induc'd him to comply in this with the Univerſal Wiſhes of his People, it has been found ſince, that not only *England*, but the greateſt part of *Europe* do ſhare at this day in the *Bleſſings* that have attended it.

By this *Match* the Prince of *Orange* had a double Intereſt in *England*, both as a Prince of the Blood himſelf, and in Right of his *Princeſs the next Preſumptive Heir*. He liv'd with King *Charles* in as much Friendſhip as was poſſible, for one that would

would not enter into an Intereſt ſeparate from that of his Country, or of *England*. Inſomuch that in all the Endeavours that were made to exclude the *Duke* of *York* from the Crown, he look'd on, without eſpouſing any of the Parties that ſtruggled for or againſt the *Bill of Excluſion*; though he knew it was deſign'd that *He* and the *Princeſs* ſhould *ſucceed* upon the Death of King *Charles*.

When King *James* came to the Throne, the Prince of *Orange* tried all poſſible means to cultivate a ſincere Friendſhip with him, and to perſuade him to enter into ſuch Meaſures as might tend to the Common Safety of *Europe*, and the Happineſs of *England*; which if King *James* had given Ear to, would have preſerv'd the Crown upon his Head. And ſo cautious was he of giving him no reaſonable ground of Complaint, that though in King *Charles*'s time he had given a Generous Welcome to the *Duke of Monmouth*, at the Requeſt of that King, upon his retiring to *Holland*; Yet as ſoon as he knew that that unhappy Gentleman deſign'd to invade *England* upon King *James*'s Acceſſion to the Throne, he offer'd to come over in Perſon to his Aſſiſtance, and ſent him with all Expedition the *Engliſh* and *Scotch*

Scotch Troops that were in the Service of the *States*.

It had been happy for King *James* if he had complied with the Advice of the Prince of *Orange*, or had not by his Succeſs againſt *Monmouth* been puſh'd on to make the Steps that have been mention'd, together with a great many more, for Brevity's ſake here omitted, towards his own Ruin, and that of the *Conſtitution* of *England*. But being flatter'd with the gaudy Charms of *Abſolute Power*, and the empty Merit of *Reſtoring the* Romiſh *Religion*, he drove on without Controul, till at laſt he forc'd the People of *England* upon an inevitable neceſſity of calling in the Prince of *Orange* to retrieve the expiring Liberties of their Countrey.

At the ſame time an indiſſoluble *Friendſhip* and *Alliance*, which King *James* had enter'd into when Duke of *York*, and had cultivated afterwards when he came to the Crown, was a matter of that vaſt Conſequence to the Neighbouring *Princes* and *States*, as would not permit them to ſtand by as unconcern'd Spectators of the Scene that was acting in *England*; but oblig'd them likewiſe to have recourſe to the Prince of *Orange* for break-

breaking off their own *Fetters*, by breaking first those of *England*.

But by what Steps and concurring Accidents, and with what surprizing Circumstances this Mighty *Design* came about, may some time or other, though perhaps not so properly in this Age, be the Subject of a *Second* Part, when it meets with one of more Leisure and Capacity to write it.

FINIS.

Addenda

Addenda ad *Page* 36.

Concerning the Reign of King James I.

It may not be impertinent in this place, to ſay ſomething of that *Convocation* that was held in the beginning of this King's Reign; Which had never been taken notice of in Hiſtory, if it were not for the uſe that was made of it in our late Debates about the Lawfulneſs of the *Oaths* to his preſent Majeſty. This *Convocation* goes under the name of *Overall's Convocation*, and has been of late years often mentioned in Print upon that account. And ſince a very Learned *Divine* has told us upon a ſolemn Occaſion, That it was the *Canons* of this *Convocation* that firſt Enlightned his Eyes, and perſuaded him of the Lawfulneſs of the *Oaths* to his Majeſty, I ſhall only take notice of a few things about them. Dr. *Sherlock.*

It's very probable, that this *Convocation* was call'd, to clear ſome Doubts that King *James* might have had, about the Lawfulneſs of the *Hollanders* their throwing off the *Monarchy* of *Spain*, and their with-

withdrawing, for good and all, their Allegiance to that Crown: Which was the Great Matter then in Agitation in moſt Courts of *Chriſtendom*.

It appears plainly by ſome of thoſe *Canons*, that the Highflown Notions of *Prerogative* and *Abſolute Obedience*, which came afterwards into faſhion, were not much known at that time: at leaſt, the Clergy were not of that Opinion. It's true, This was the firſt time that the Diſtinction of a King *de jure* and *de facto*, was ever mention'd as a Point of Divinity, or a Doctrine of the Church; though it had been taken notice of before, and that but once, as a Matter of Law, in an Act of Parliament of *Henry* 7. But theſe *Canons* did never receive the *Royal Approbation*, and therefore are in the ſame caſe, as if they had never been.

King *James* thought theſe Points too nice to be much touch'd upon, and was highly diſpleas'd with the *Members* of that *Convocation* for medling in Matters which he thought were without their Sphere. Thereupon he writ that angry *Letter* to Dr. *Abbot* (afterwards Biſhop of *Sarum*), the Original of which it was my fortune to fall upon, and to publiſh upon another Occaſion. It's hop'd the Reader will

will not be displeas'd to read it again: And it runs thus.

Good Doctor Abbot,

I *Cannot abstain to give you my Judgment of your Proceedings in your Convocation, as you call it; and both as* Rex in solio, *and* unus Gregis in Ecclesia, *I am doubly concerned. My Title to the Crown no body calls in question, but they that neither love you nor me, and you guess whom I mean. All that you and your Brethren have said of a King in Possession (for that Word I tell you, is no worse than that you make use of in your Canon) concerns not me at all. I am the next Heir, and the Crown is mine by all Rights you can name, but that of Conquest; and Mr Solicitor has sufficiently express'd my own Thoughts concerning the Nature of Kingship in general, and concerning the nature of it,* ut in mea persona: *And I believe you were all of his Opinion: at least, none of you said ought contrary to it, at the time he spake to you from me. But you know all of you, as I think, that my Reason of calling you together, was to give your Judgments how far a Christian and a Protestant King may concur to assist his Neighbours to shake of their Obedience to their once Sovereign, upon the Account of Oppression, Tyranny, or what else you like to name it.*

In the late Queen's time this Kingdom was very free in aſſiſting the Hollanders, *both with Arms and Advice. And none of your Coat ever told me, that any ſcrupled about it in her Reign. Upon my coming to* England, *you may know that it came from ſome of your ſelves to raiſe Scruples about this Matter. And albeit I have often told my Mind concerning* Jus Regium in Subditos, *as in* May *laſt in the Star-Chamber, upon the occaſion of* Hales *his Pamphlet; yet I never took any notice of theſe Scruples, till the Affairs of* Spain *and* Holland *forc'd me to it. All my Neighbours call on me to concur in the Treaty between* Holland *and* Spain; *and the Honour of the Nation will will not ſuffer the* Hollanders *to be abandoned, eſpecially after ſo much Money and Men ſpent in their Quarrel: Therefore I was of the Mind to call my Clergy together, to ſatisfy not ſo much me, as the World about us, of the Juſtneſs of my owning the* Hollanders *at this time: This I needed not have done; and you have forced me to ſay, I wiſh I had not. You have dipp'd too deep in what all Kings reſerve among the* Arcana Imperii. *And what ever Averſion you may profeſs againſt God's being the Author of Sin, you have ſtumbled upon the Threſhold of that Opinion, in ſaying upon the Matter, that even*

even Tyranny is God's Authority, and ſhould be reverenc'd as ſuch. If the King of Spain *ſhould return to claim his old Pontifical Right to my Kingdom, you leave me to ſeek for others to fight for it: For you tell us upon the matter beforehand, his Authority is God's Authority, if he prevail.*

Thus far the Secretary's Hand, as I take it, follows the reſt in the King's own Hand thus: *Mr. Doctor, I have no time to expreſs my Mind farther in this thorny buſineſs. I ſhall give you my Orders about it by Mr. Solicitor; and until then, meddle no more in it, for they are Edge-Tools, or rather like that Weapon, that's ſaid to cut with the one edge, and cure with the other. I commit you to God's Protection, good Doctor* Abbot, *and reſt,*

Your good Friend,

James R.

UMI

APPENDIX;

Containing a Collection of Inſtruments and Original Papers, referr'd to in the former Memoirs.

NUMB. I.

The Character of the Members of the Houſe of Commons in Queen Elizabeth's *Time; and how differing from thoſe in the Reign of King* James. *Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, p. 13, 14.*

WE muſt aſcribe ſome part of the Commendation to the Wiſdom of the Times, and the Choice of Parliament-men: For I find not that they were at any time given to any violent or pertinacious diſpute; Elections being made of grave and diſcreet Perſons, not factious and ambitious of Fame; ſuch as came not to the Houſe with a malevolent Spirit of Contention, but with a preparation to conſult on the publick good; rather

to comply than conteſt with her Majeſty. Neither do I find that the Houſe was at any time weaken'd and peſter'd with the admiſſion of too many Young Heads, as it hath been of later times: Which remembers me of Recorder *Martin*'s Speech, about the Tenth of our late Sovereign Lord King *James*, when there were accounts taken of Forty Gentlemen not above Twenty, and ſome not exceeding Sixteen; which moved him to ſay, That it was the ancient Cuſtom for Old Men to make Laws for Young ones; but that then he ſaw the Caſe alter'd, and that there were Children elected unto the great Council of the Kingdom, which came to invade and invert Nature, and to enact Laws to govern their Fathers. Sure we are, the Houſe always took the Common Cauſe into their Conſideration, and they ſaw the Queen had juſt occaſion, and need enough to uſe their aſſiſtance: Neither do I remember that the Houſe did ever capitulate, or prefer their private to the publick, the Queen's Neceſſities, *&c.* but waited their times, and in the firſt place gave their Supply, and according to the Exigency of her Affairs; yet failed not at laſt to obtain what they deſired; ſo that the Queen and her Parliaments had ever

ever the good fortune to depart in Love, and on reciprocal Terms; which are Conſiderations which have not been ſo exactly obſerved in our laſt Aſſemblies as they might, and I would to God they had been: For conſidering the great Debt left on the King, and in what Incumbrances the Houſe it ſelf had then drawn him, his Majeſty was not well uſed; though I lay not the blame on the whole Suffrage of the Houſe, where he had many good Friends; for I dare avouch, had the Houſe been freed of half a dozen of popular and diſcontented Perſons, ſuch as (with the Fellow that burnt the Temple at *Epheſus*) would be talked of, tho but for doing of miſchief, I am confident the King had obtained that which in reaſon, and at his firſt Acceſſion he ought to have received freely, and without any condition.

NUMB. II.

Naunton, Ibid. p. 80, 81, 82, 83.

The Character of Cecil, *Earl of* Salisbury; *with his Letter to the Lord* Mountjoy, *about the* Spaniards *Invading* Ireland.

AND ſo again to this great Maſter of State, and the Staff of the Queen's declining Age; who though his little crooked Perſon could not promiſe any great ſupportation, yet it carried thereon a Head and a Head-piece of a vaſt content; and therein it ſeems Nature was ſo diligent to compleat one and the beſt part about him, as that to the perfection of his Memory and Intellectuals, ſhe took care alſo of his Senſes; and to put him in *Linceos Oculos*, or to pleaſure him the more, borrowed of *Argos*, ſo to give unto him a Proſpective Sight. And for the reſt of his Senſitive Virtues, his Predeceſſor *Walſingham* had left him a Receit to ſmell out what was done in the Conclave; and his good old Father was ſo well ſeen in the Mathematicks, as that he could tell you through all *Spain*, every part, every Ship, with the Burthens, whither bound, what preparation, what Impe-

Impediments for diverſion, of Enterprizes, Counſels, and Reſolutions. And that we may ſee (as in a little Map) how docible this little Man was, I will preſent a Taſte of his Abilities.

My Lord of *Devonſhire*, (upon the certainty the *Spaniard* would invade *Ireland* with a ſtrong Army) had written very earneſtly to the Queen and the Council, for ſuch Supplies to be ſent over, that might enable him to march up to the *Spaniard*, if he did land, and follow on his Proſecution againſt the Rebels. Sir *Robert Cecil* (beſides the general Diſpatch of the Council, as he often did) wrote this in private; for theſe two began then to love dearly. *Mountjoy.* *Earl of Salisbury.*

My Lord, *Out of the abundance of my Affection, and the care I have of your well-doing, I muſt in private put you out of doubt, (for of Fear I know you cannot be otherwiſe ſenſible, than in the way of Honour) that the* Spaniard *will not come unto you this Year; for I have it from my own, what Preparations are in all his Parts, and what he can do; for be confident, he beareth up a Reputation by ſeeming to embrace more than he can gripe; but the next Year be aſſured he will caſt over unto you ſome Forlorn Hopes,*

Hopes, which how they may be re-inforced beyond his present Ability, and his first Intention, I cannot as yet make any certain Judgment; but I believe out of my Intelligence, that you may expect their landing in Munster; *and the more to distract you, in several places, as at* Kingsale, Beerhaven, Baltimore, *where you may be sure (coming from Sea) they will first fortify, and learn the Strength of the Rebels, before they dare take the Field; howsoever (as I know you will not) lessen not your Care, neither your Defences; and whatsoever lies within my power to do you and the Publick service, rest thereof assured.*

Note, All came exactly to pass, as this Letter insinuates.

NUMB. III.

Queen Elizabeth's *Speech to the Houſe of Commons, in Anſwer to their Addreſs about her Marriage.* Cambden's Hiſt. of Q. Eliz. p 26, 27.

IN a matter moſt unpleaſing, moſt pleaſing to me, is the apparent Good-Will of you and my People, as proceeding from a very good mind towards me and the Commonwealth. Concerning Marriage, which ye ſo earneſtly move me to, I have been long ſince perſuaded, that I was ſent into this World by God to think and do thoſe things chiefly, which may tend to his Glory. Hereupon have I choſen that kind of life which is moſt free from the troubleſome Cares of this World, that I might atttend the Service of God alone. From which, if either the tendred Marriages of moſt Potent Princes, or the danger of Death intended againſt me, could have removed me, I had long agone enjoyed the Honour of an Husband. And theſe things have I thought upon when I was a private Perſon. But now that the publick Care of governing the Kingdom is laid upon me, to

to draw upon me also the Cares of Marriage, may seem a point of inconsiderate Folly. Yea, to satisfy you, I have already joined my self in Marriage to an Husband, namely, the Kingdom of *England*. And behold (*said she, which I marvel ye have forgotten*) the Pledge of this my Wedlock and Marriage with my Kingdom. (*And therewith she drew the Ring from her Finger, and shewed it, wherewith at her Coronation she had in a set form of words solemnly given her self in Marriage to her Kingdom.*) Here having made a pause: And do not (*saith she*) upbraid me with miserable lack of Children; for every one of you, and as many as are *Englishmen*, are Children and Kinsmen to me; of whom, if God deprive me not, (which God forbid) I cannot without injury be accounted Barren. But I commend you that ye have not appointed me an Husband, for that were most unworthy the Majesty of an Absolute Princess, and unbeseeming your Wisdom, which are Subjects born. Nevertheless, if it please God that I enter into another course of life, I promise you I will do nothing which may be prejudicial to the Commonwealth, but will take such a Husband, as near as may be,

as

as will have as great a care of the Commonwealth as my ſelf. But if I continue in this kind of life I have begun, I doubt not but God will ſo direct mine own and your Counſels, that ye ſhall not need to doubt of a Succeſſor which may be more beneficial to the Commonwealth than he which may be born of me, conſidering that the Iſſue of the beſt Princes many times degenerateth. And to me it ſhall be a full ſatisfaction, both for the Memorial of my Name, and for my Glory alſo, if when I ſhall let my laſt Breath, it be engraven upon my Marble Tomb, *Here lieth* ELIZABETH, *which Reigned a Virgin, and died a Virgin.*

NUMB.

NUMB. IV.

Ibid. p. 475. *Queen* Elizabeth's *Letter to King* Henry *the Fourth of* France, *upon his changing his Religion.*

ALas! what deep Sorrow, what vehement Grief, what Sighs have I felt at my Heart, for the things which *Morlante* hath told me of? Alas! is the World come to this paſs? Was it poſſible that any Worldly matter ſhould make you quit the fear of God? Can we expect any happy Iſſue of ſuch a Fact? Or could you think that he who hath hitherto with his own Right Hand upholden and preſerved you, would now forſake you? It is a very dangerous thing to do Evil that Good may come of it. Yet I hope a ſober Spirit will put you into a better Mind. In the mean time I will not omit to make it a principal part of my Prayers, the recommending you to God, beſeeching him that the Hands of *Eſau* may not loſe you the Bleſſing of *Jacob*. Whereas you do religiouſly and ſolemnly offer me your Friendſhip, I know to my great Coſt I have

have well deſerved it; neither ſhould I repent that, had you not changed your Father. Verily, from henceforth I cannot be your Siſter by the Father; for the truth is, I ſhall ever more dearly love and honour mine own Father, than a falſe and counterfeit one: which God knoweth very well, who (I beſeech him) bring you back again to a better Mind.

Subſcribed,

Your Siſter, if it be after the old manner; as for the new I have nothing to do with it.

Elizabeth *R.*

NUMB. V.

An Account of what was Remarkable upon opening the Body of Prince Henry.

Truth brought to Light, or the first 14 Years of K. *James*, p. 33.

FIrſt, we found his Liver paler than ordinary, in certain places ſomewhat wan, his Gall without any Choler in it, and diſtended with Wind.

Secondly, his Spleen was in divers places more than ordinarily black.

Thirdly, his Stomach was in no part offended.

Fourthly, his Midriff was in divers places black.

Fifthly, his Lungs were very black, and in divers places ſpotted, and full of a thin watery Blood.

Laſtly, the Veins in the hinder part of his Head were fuller than ordinary, but the Ventricles and hollowneſs of the Brain were full of clear Water.

In witneſs whereof, with our own Hands we have Subſcribed this preſent Relation, the 7th *day of* November, 1612.

Mayerne, Palmer,
Atkins, Gifford,
Hammond, Buttler.

NUMB.

NUMB. VI.

Mr. Secretary Vane's *Notes about the Earl of* Strafford's *Advice to King* Charles *to bring over an Army from* Ireland, *to ſubdue* England. Whitlock's Memoirs, p. 41.

Note, *This was the moſt dubious, and yet the moſt material Article againſt him, which contributed moſt to his Ruin.*

The Title of them was,

No danger of a War with Scotland.
If Offenſive, not Defenſive.

K. *Charles.* HOW can we undertake Offenſive War, if we have no more Money?

Lord *Strafford.* Borrow of the City 100000 *l.* Go on vigorouſly to levy Ship-money: Your Majeſty having tried the Affection of your People, you are abſolv'd and looſe from all Rule of Government, and to do what Power will admit. Your Majeſty having tried all ways, and being refus'd, ſhall be acquitted before God and Man. And you have an Army in *Ireland* that you may employ to reduce

this Kingdom to Obedience; for I am confident the *Scots* cannot hold out Five Months.

ABp. *Laud.* You have tried all ways, and have always been denied; it is now lawful to take it by Force.

Lord *Cottington.* Levies abroad there may be made for Defence of the Kingdom. The Lower Houſe are weary of the King and Church. All ways ſhall be juſt to raiſe Money by, in this inevitable Neceſſity, and are to be us'd, being lawful.

ABp. *Laud.* For an Offenſive, not a Defenſive War.

Lord *Strafford.* The Town is full of Lords; put the Commiſſion of Array on foot; and if any of them ſtir, we will make them ſmart.

NUMB. VII.

The Theatrical Manner of Archbiſhop Laud's *Conſecrating* Katherine Creed-Church, *in* London.

Ruſhworth, Part 2. Vol. 1, p. 77.

ST. *Katherine Creed Church* being lately repaired, was ſuſpended from all Divine Service, Sermons, and Sacraments, till it were Conſecrated. Wherefore Dr. *Laud*, Lord Biſhop of *London*, on the *16th* of *January*, being the Lord's Day, came thither in the Morning to Conſecrate the ſame. Now becauſe great Exceptions were taken at the Formality thereof, we will briefly relate the manner of the Conſecration.

At the Biſhop's approach to the Weſt-door of the Church, ſome that were prepared for it, cried with a loud voice, *Open, open, ye everlaſting Doors, that the King of Glory may enter in!* and preſently the Doors were opened: And the Biſhop, with ſome Doctors, and many other principal Men, went in, and immediately falling down upon his Knees, with his Eyes lifted up, and his Arms

ſpread abroad, uttered theſe words, *This Place is holy, this Ground is holy; In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, I pronounce it holy.*

Then he took up ſome of the duſt, and threw it up into the Air, ſeveral times in his going up towards the *Chancel*; when they approached near to the Rail and *Communion-Table*, the Biſhop bowed towards it ſeveral times, and returning, they went round the Church in Proceſſion, ſaying the Hundredth Pſalm; after that, the 19*th* Pſalm, and then ſaid a Form of Prayer, *Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, &c. and concluding, *We Conſecrate this Church, and ſeparate it unto thee, as holy Ground, not to be prophaned any more to common uſe.*

After this, the Biſhop being near the *Communion-Table*, and taking a written Book in his hand, pronounced Curſes upon thoſe that ſhould afterwards prophane that Holy Place, by Muſters of Soldiers, or keeping prophane Law-Courts, or carrying Burdens through it; and at the end of every Curſe, he bowed towards the *Eaſt*, and ſaid, *Let all the People ſay*, Amen.

When the Curſes were ended, he pronounced a number of Bleſſings upon all thoſe

thoſe that had any hand in Framing and Building of that Sacred and Beautiful Church, and thoſe that had given, and ſhould hereafter give any Chalices, Plate, Ornaments, or Utenſils: And at the end of every Bleſſing, he bowed towards the *Eaſt*, ſaying, *Let all the People ſay*, Amen.

After this followed the *Sermon*; which being ended, the Biſhop conſecrated and adminiſtred the Sacrament, in manner following:

As he approached the *Communion-Table* he made many ſeveral lowly Bowings; and coming up to the ſide of the Table where the Bread and Wine were covered, he bowed ſeven times, and then after the reading of many Prayers, he came near the Bread, and gently lifted up the corner of the Napkin wherein the Bread was laid; and when he beheld the Bread, he laid it down again, flew back a ſtep or two, bowed three ſeveral times towards it, then he drew near again, and opened the Napkin, and bowed as before.

Then he laid his hand on the Cup, which was full of Wine, with a Cover upon it, which he let go again, went back, and bowed thrice towards it, then

he came near again; and lifting up the Cover of the Cup, looked into it, and ſeeing the Wine, he let fall the Cover again, retired back, and bowed as before; then he received the Sacrament, and gave it to ſome principal Men; after which, many Prayers being ſaid, the Solemnity of the Conſecration ended.

NUMB. VIII.

The Order of Council againſt Archibald *the King's Fool, for affronting Archbiſhop* Laud.

Ruſhworth, Part 2. Vol. 1. p. 471.

IT is this day ordered by his Majeſty, with the Advice of the Board, That *Archibald Armſtrong*, the King's Fool, for certain ſcandalous Words of a high nature, ſpoken by him againſt the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* his Grace, and proved to be uttered by him by two Witneſſes, ſhall have his Coat pull'd over his Head, and be diſcharged of the King's Service, and baniſhed the Court; for which the Lord Chamberlain of the King's Houſhold is prayed and required to give Order to be executed. *And immediately the ſame was put in Execution.*

NUMB.

NUMB. IX.

The Petition of the Houſe of Commons, and their Remonſtrance of the State of the Nation, preſented to K. Charles I. *at his Return from* Scotland *in* 1641. *Together with the King's Anſwer, and the Declaration he afterwards publiſh'd to the ſame purpoſe.*

Husband's Collect. in 4*to*, from p. 1. to p. 29.

Note, That the Matters contain'd in theſe Four Papers, were the Grounds of the Civil War, and came afterwards to be decided by the Sword.

The Petition of the Houſe of Commons, which accompanied the Declaration of the State of the Kingdom, when it was preſented to his Majeſty at Hampton-Court.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

YOur Majeſties moſt humble and faithful Subjects the Commoners in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, do with much thankfulneſs and joy, acknowledge the great mercy and favour of God, in giving your Majeſty a ſafe and peaceable return out of *Scotland* into your Kingdom of *England*, where the preſſing dan-

gers and distempers of the State have caused us with much earnestness to desire the comfort of your gracious presence, and likewise the Unity and Justice of your Royal Authority to give more life and power to the dutiful and loyal Counsels and Endeavours of your Parliament, for the prevention of that eminent ruin and destruction wherein your Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* are threatned. The duty which we owe to your Majesty and our Countrey, cannot but make us very sensible and apprehensive, that the multiplicity, sharpness and malignity of those evils under which we have now many years suffered, are fomented and cherished by a corrupt and ill-affected party, who amongst other their mischievous devices for the alteration of Religion and Government, have thought by many false scandals and imputations cunningly insinuated, and dispersed amongst the people, to blemish and disgrace our proceedings in this Parliament, and to get themselves a party and faction amongst your Subjects, for the better strengthning of themselves in their wicked courses, and hindring those Provisions and Remedies which might by the wisdom of your Majesty, and Counsel of your

your Parliament be oppoſed againſt them.

For preventing whereof, and the better information of your Majeſty, your Peers, and all other your loyal Subjects, we have been neceſſitated to make a Declaration of the ſtate of the Kingdom, both before and ſince the Aſſembly of this Parliament unto this time, which we do humbly preſent to your Majeſty without the leaſt intention to lay any blemiſh upon your Royal Perſon, but only to repreſent how your Royal Authority and Truſt have been abuſed, to the great prejudice and danger of your Majeſty, and of all your good Subjects.

And becauſe we have reaſon to believe that thoſe malignant parties whoſe proceedings evidently appear to be mainly for the advantage and encreaſe of Popery, is compoſed, ſet up, and acted by the ſubtil practice of the Jeſuits, and other Engineers and Factors for *Rome*, and to the great danger of this Kingdom, and moſt grievous affliction of your loyal Subjects, have ſo far prevailed, as to corrupt divers of your Biſhops, and others in prime places of the Church, and alſo to bring divers of theſe Inſtruments to be of your Privy Council, and other employments

ployments of truſt and nearneſs about your Majeſty, the Prince, and the reſt of your Royal Children.

And by this means hath had ſuch an operation in your Council, and the moſt important affairs and proceedings of your Government, that a moſt dangerous diviſion and chargeable preparation for War betwixt your Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, the increaſe of Jealouſies betwixt your Majeſty and your moſt obedient Subjects, the violent diſtraction and interruption of this Parliament, the inſurrection of the Papiſts in your Kingdom of *Ireland*, and bloody Maſſacre of your people, have been not only endeavoured and attempted, but in a great meaſure compaſſed and effected.

For preventing the final accompliſhment whereof, your poor Subjects are enforced to engage their perſons and eſtates to the maintaining of a very expenceful and dangerous War, notwithſtanding they have already ſince the beginning of this Parliament undergone the charge of 150000 pounds ſterling, or thereabouts, for the neceſſary ſupport and ſupply of your Majeſty in theſe preſent and perilous Deſigns. And becauſe all our moſt faithful endeavours and engagements will

will be ineffectual for the peace, ſafety, and preſervation of your Majeſty and your people, if ſome preſent, real and effectual courſe be not taken for ſuppreſſing this wicked and malignant party,

We your moſt humble and obedient Subjects do with all faithfulneſs and humility beſeech your Majeſty,

1. That you will be graciouſly pleaſed to concur with the humble deſires of your people in a Parliamentary way, for the preſerving the peace and ſafety of the Kingdom from the malicious Deſigns of the Popiſh party.

For depriving the Biſhops of their Votes in Parliament, and abridging their immoderate power uſurped over the Clergy, and other your good Subjects, which they have moſt perniciouſly abuſed, to the hazard of Religion, and great prejudice and oppreſſion of the Laws of the Kingdom, and juſt liberty of your people.

For the taking away ſuch oppreſſions in Religion, Church government, and Diſcipline, as have been brought in and fomented by them.

For uniting all ſuch your loyal Subjects together, as joyn in the ſame fundamental

mental truths againſt the Papiſt, by removing ſome oppreſſions and unneceſſary Ceremonies, by which divers weak conſciences have been ſcrupled, and ſeem to be divided from the reſt: For the due execution of thoſe good Laws which have been made for ſecuring the liberty of your Subjects.

2. That your Majeſty will likewiſe be pleaſed to remove from your Council all ſuch as perſiſt to favour, and promote any of thoſe preſſures and corruptions wherewith your people have been grieved; and that for the future your Majeſty will vouchſafe to imploy ſuch perſons in your great and publick Affairs, and to take ſuch to be near you in places of truſt, as your Parliament may have cauſe to confide in; that in your Princely goodneſs to your people, you will reject and refuſe all mediation and ſolicitation to the contrary, how powerful and near ſoever.

3. That you would be pleaſed to forbear to alienate any of the forfeited and eſcheated Lands in *Ireland*, which ſhall accrue to your Crown by reaſon of this Rebellion, that out of them the Crown may be the better ſupported, and ſome ſatisfaction made to your Subjects of this Kingdom, for the great expences they are like to undergo this War. Which

Which humble desires of ours being graciously fulfilled by your Majesty, we will by the blessing and favour of God most chearfully undergo the hazard and expences of this War, and apply our selves to such other courses and counsels as may support your Royal Estate with honour and plenty at home, with power and reputation abroad; and by our loyal affections, obedience, and service, lay a sure and lasting foundation of the greatness and prosperity of your Majesty, and your Royal Posterity in future times.

A Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom.

Die Mercurii, 15 Decemb. 1642.

THE Commons in this present Parliament assembled, having with much earnestness, and faithfulness of affection, and zeal to the publick good of this Kingdom, and his Majesties honour and service, for the space of twelve months, wrestled with the great dangers and fears, the pressing miseries and calamities, the various distempers and disorders, which had not only assaulted, but even

even overwhelmed and extinguiſht the liberty, peace, and proſperity of this Kingdom, the comfort and hopes of all his Majeſties good Subjects, and exceedingly weakned and undermined the foundation and ſtrength of his own Royal Throne; Do yet find an abounding Malignity and Oppoſition in thoſe parties and factions, who have been the cauſe of thoſe evils, and do ſtill labour to caſt aſperſions upon that which hath been done, and to raiſe many difficulties for the hinderance of that which remains yet undone, and to foment Jealouſies betwixt the King and the Parliament; that ſo they may deprive him his people, of the fruit of his own gracious Intentions, and their humble deſires of procuring the publick peace, ſafety, and happineſs of this Realm. For the preventing of thoſe miſerable effects, which ſuch malicious endeavours may produce, We have thought good to declare,

1. *The root and the growth of theſe miſchievous Deſigns.*

2. *The Maturity and Ripeneſs, to which they have attained before the beginning of the Parliament.*

3. *The effectual means which hath been uſed*

uſed for the extirpations of thoſe dangerous evils, and the Progreſs which hath therein been made by his Majeſties goodneſs, and the Wiſdom of the Parliament.

4. *The ways of obſtruction and oppoſition, by which that Progreſs hath been interrupted.*

5. *The courſes to be taken for the removing thoſe Obſtacles, and for the accompliſhing of our moſt dutiful and faithful intentions and endeavours, of reſtoring and eſtabliſhing the Ancient Honour, Greatneſs, and Security of this Crown and Nation. The Root of all this miſchief, We find to be a malignant, and pernicious deſign, of ſubverting the Fundamental Laws and Principles of Government; upon which the Religion and Juſtice of this Kingdom are firmly eſtabliſht. The Actors and Promoters hereof have been,*

1. *The Jeſuited Papiſts who hate the Laws, as the Obſtacles of that Change and Subverſion of Religion, which they ſo much long for.*

2. *The Biſhops, and the corrupt part of the Clergy, who cheriſh formality and ſuperſtition, as the natural effects, and more probable ſupports of their own Eccleſiaſtical Tyranny and Uſurpation.*

3. *Such Counſellors and Courtiers as for private*

private ends have engaged themſelves to further the intereſts of ſome foreign Princes or States, to the prejudice of his Majeſty, and the State at home.

The common Principles, by which they moulded and governed all their particular Counſels and Actions were theſe:

Firſt, To maintain continual differences and diſcontents betwixt the King and the People, upon Queſtions of Prerogative and Liberty, that ſo they might have the advantage of ſiding with him, and under the notions of men addicted to his ſervice, gain to themſelves and their parties the places of greateſt truſt and power in the Kingdom.

A ſecond, To ſuppreſs the purity and power of Religion, and ſuch as were beſt affected to it; as being contrary to their own ends, and the greateſt impediment to that Change which they thought to introduce.

A third, To conjoyn thoſe parties of the Kingdom, which were moſt propitious to their own ends, and to divide thoſe who were moſt oppoſite, which conſiſted in many particular Obſervations; to cheriſh the Armi-nian *part in thoſe points wherein they agree with the Papiſts; to multiply and enlarge the difference between the common Proteſtants and*

and those whom they call Puritans, to introduce and countenance such Opinions and Ceremonies, as are fittest for accomodation with Popery, to increase and maintain ignorance, looseness and prophaneness in the people: That of those three parties, Papists, Arminians, *and* Libertines, *they might compose a body fit to act such counsels and resolutions, as were most conducible to their own ends.*

A fourth, To disaffect the King to Parliaments, by slanders and false imputations, and by putting him upon other ways of supply, which in shew and appearance were fuller of advantage than the ordinary course of Subsidies, though in truth they brought more loss than gain both to the King and People, and have caused the distractions under which we both suffer.

As in all compounded bodies, the Operations are qualified according to the predominant Element; So in this mixt party, the Jesuited Counsels being most active and prevailing, may easily be discovered to have had the greatest sway in all their determinations; and if they be not prevented, are like to devour the rest, or to turn them into their own nature.

In the beginning of his Majesties Reign, the party begun to revive and flourish again, having been somewhat dampt

by the breach with *Spain* in the laſt year of King *James*, and by his Majeſties Marriage with *France*; the intereſts and Councils of that State being not ſo contrary to the good of Religion, and the proſperity of this Kingdom, as thoſe of *Spain*; and the Papiſts of *England* having been ever more addicted to *Spain* than *France*; yet they ſtill retained a purpoſe and reſolution to weaken the Proteſtant parties in all parts, and even in *France*, whereby to make way for the change of Religion, which they intended at home.

The firſt effect and evidence of their recovery and ſtrength, was the diſſolution of the Parliament at *Oxford*, after there had been given two Subſidies to his Majeſty; and before they received relief in any one Grievance, many other more miſerable effects followed,

The loſs of the *Rochel* Fleet, by the help of our Shipping ſet forth and delivered over to the *French*, in oppoſition to the advice of Parliament, which left that Town without defence by Sea, and made way not only to the loſs of that important place, but likewiſe to the loſs of all the ſtrength and ſecurity of the Proteſtant Religion in *France*.

The diverting of his Majeſties courſe of Wars

Wars from the *West-Indies*, which was the moſt facile and hopeful way for this Kingdom to prevail againſt the *Spaniard*; to an expenceful and ſucceſsleſs attempt upon *Cales*, which was ſo ordered, as if it had rather been intended to make us weary of War than to proſper in it.

The precipitate breach with *France*, by taking their Ships to a great value, without making recompence to the *Engliſh*, whoſe Goods were thereupon imbarr'd and confiſcate in that Kingdom.

The Peace with *Spain* without conſent of Parliament, contrary to the promiſe of K. *James* to both Houſes; whereby the *Palatine* Cauſe was deſerted, and left to chargeable and hopeleſs Treaties, which for the moſt part, were managed by thoſe who might juſtly be ſuſpected to be no Friends to that Cauſe.

The charging of the Kingdom with Billeted Soldiers in all parts of it, and that concomitant deſign of *German* Horſe, that the Land might either ſubmit with fear, or be enforced with rigour to ſuch Arbitrary Contributions as ſhould be required of them.

The diſſolving of the Parliament in the ſecond year of his Majeſties Reign, after a Declaration of their intent to grant five Subſidies.

The exacting of the like proportion of five Subſidies after the Parliament diſſolved, by Commiſſion of Loan; and divers Gentlemen and others impriſoned for not yielding to pay that Loan, whereby many of them contracted ſuch ſickneſſes as coſt them their Lives. Great ſums of Money required and raiſed by Privy Seals. An unjuſt and pernicious attempt to extort great payments from the Subject, by way of Exciſe; and a Commiſſion iſſued under Seal to that purpoſe. The Petition of Right, which was granted in full Parliament, blaſted with an illegal Declaration, to make it deſtructive to it ſelf, to the power of Parliament, to the Liberty of the Subject, and to that purpoſe printed with it; and the Petition made of no uſe, but to ſhew the bold and preſumptuous injuſtice of ſuch Miniſters as durſt break the Laws, and ſuppreſs the Liberties of the Kingdom, after they had been ſo ſolemny and evidently declared.

Another Parliament diſſolved, 4 *Car.* The privilege of Parliament broken by impriſoning divers Members of the Houſe, detaining them cloſe priſoners for many months together, without the liberty of uſing Books, Pen, Ink, or Paper, denying

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ing them all the comforts of life, all means of preſervation of health, not permitting their Wives to come unto them, even in time of their ſickneſs. And for the compleating of that cruelty, after years ſpent in ſuch miſerable durance, depriving them of the neceſſary means of Spiritual conſolation, not ſuffering them to go abroad to enjoy God's Ordinances in God's Houſe, or God's Miniſters to come to them, to adminiſter comfort unto them in their private Chambers; and to keep them ſtill in this oppreſſed condition, not admitting them to be bailed according to Law, yet vexing them with Informations in inferior Courts, ſentencing and fining ſome of them for matters done in Parliament, and extorting the payments of thoſe Fines from them, enforcing others to put in ſecurity of good behaviour, before they could be releaſed.

The impriſonment of the reſt which refuſed to be bound, ſtill continued; which might have been perpetual, if neceſſity had not the laſt year brought another Parliament to relieve them; of whom one died, by the cruelty and harſhneſs of his impriſonment, which would admit of no relaxation, notwithſtanding the imminent danger of his life did ſuffi-

ciently appear by the declaration of his Phyſician: And his Releaſe, or at leaſt, his Refreſhment, was ſought by many humble Petitions. And his Blood ſtill cries either for Vengeance, or Repentance of thoſe Miniſters of State, who have at once obſtructed the courſe both of his Majeſty's Juſtice and Mercy.

Upon the Diſſolution of both theſe Parliaments, untrue and ſcandalous Declarations publiſhed, to aſperſe their Proceedings and ſome of their Members, unjuſtly to make them odious, and colour the Violence which was uſed againſt them. Proclamations ſet out to the ſame purpoſe; and to the great dejecting of the hearts of the People, forbidding them even to ſpeak of Parliaments.

After the Breach of Parliament, in the Fourth Year of his Majeſty, Injuſtice, Oppreſſion, and Violence broke in upon us, without any Reſtraint or Moderation; and yet the firſt Project was the great Sums exacted through the whole Kingdom, for default of Knighthood, which ſeemed to have ſome colour and ſhadow of a Law, yet if it be rightly examined by that obſolete Law which was pretended for it, it would be found to be againſt all the Rules of Juſtice, both

both in reſpect of the Perſons charged, the Proportion of the Fines demanded, and the abſurd and unreaſonable Manner of their Proceedings. Tunnage and Poundage hath been received without colour or pretence of Law; many other heavy Impoſitions continued againſt Law; and ſome ſo unreaſonable, that the Sum of the Charge exceeds the Value of the Goods. The Book of Rates lately inhanſed to a high proportion; and ſuch Merchants as would not ſubmit to their illegal and unreaſonable Payments, were vexed and oppreſſed above meaſure; and the ordinary courſe of Juſtice, the common Birth-right of the Subject of *England*, wholly obſtructed unto them. And although all this was taken upon pretence of guarding the Sea, yet a new and unheard-of Tax of Ship-money was deviſed, upon the ſame pretence. By both which, there was charged upon the Subject near 700000 Pounds ſome Years; and yet the Merchants have been left ſo naked to the violence of the *Turkiſh* Pyrates, that many great Ships of Value, and Thouſands of his Majeſty's Subjects have been taken by them, and do ſtill remain in miſerable Slavery.

The enlargement of Foreſts, contrary to *Charta de Foreſta*, and the Compoſition thereupon. The exactions of Coat and Conduct-money, and divers other Military Charges. The taking away the Arms of the Trained-Bands of divers Counties. The deſperate deſign of engroſſing all the Gunpowder into one hand, keeping it in the Tower of *London*, and ſetting ſo high a Rate upon it, that the poorer ſort were not able to buy it, nor could any have it without Licenſe; thereby to leave the ſeveral parts of the Kingdom deſtitute of their neceſſary defence; and by ſelling ſo dear that which was ſold, to make an unlawful advantage of it, to the great charge and detriment of the Subject. The general deſtruction of the King's Timber, eſpecially that in the Foreſt of *Dean*, ſold to Papiſts, which was the beſt Store-houſe of this Kingdom, for the maintenance of our Shipping. The taking away of mens Right, under colour of the King's Title to Land between high and low Water Marks. The Monopolies of Soap, Salt, Wine, Leather, Sea-Coal, and in a manner, of all things of moſt common and neceſſary uſe. The reſtraint of the Liberties of the Subjects in their Habitation,

on, Trades, and other Intereſt. Their vexation and oppreſſion by Purveyors, Clerks of the Market, and Salt-Petremen. The ſale of pretended Nuſances, as Buildings in and about *London*, Converſion of Arable into Paſture, continuance of Paſture, under the Name of Depopulation, have drawn many Millions out of the Subjects Purſes, without any conſiderable Profit to his Majeſty. Large quantities of Common, and ſeveral Grounds, have been taken from the Subject, by colour of the Statute of Improvement, and by abuſe of the Commiſſion of Sewers, without their conſent, and againſt it. And not only private Intereſt, but alſo publick Faith have been broken, in ſeizing of the Money and Bullion in the Mint; and the whole Kingdom like to be robb'd at once, in that abominable Project of Braſs Money. Great numbers of his Majeſty's Subjects, for refuſing thoſe unlawful Charges, have been vex'd with long and expenſive Suits; ſome fined and cenſured, others committed to long and hard Impriſonments and Confinements, to the loſs of Health of many, of Life in ſome; and others have had their Houſes broken up, their Goods ſeized; ſome have been reſtrained

ſtrained from their lawful Callings: Ships have been interrupted in their Voyages, ſurprized at Sea in an Hoſtile manner by Projectors, as by a common Enemy: Merchants prohibited to unlade their Goods in ſuch Ports as were for their own advantage, and forced to bring them to thoſe places which were moſt for the advantages of the Monopolizers and Projectors. The Court of Star-chamber hath abounded in extravagant Cenſures, not only for the maintenance and improvement of Monopolies, and other unlawful Taxes, but for divers other Cauſes, where there hath been no offence, or very ſmall; whereby his Majeſty's Subjects have been oppreſſed by grievous Fines, Impriſonments, Stigmatizings, Mutilations, Whippings, Pillories, Gags, Confinements, Baniſhments; after ſo rigid a manner, as hath not only deprived men of the ſociety of their Friends, exerciſe of their Profeſſions, comfort of Books, uſe of Paper or Ink, but even violated that near Union which God hath eſtabliſh'd betwixt Men and their Wives, by forced and conſtrained Separation; whereby they have been bereaved of the comfort and converſation one of another for many years together, without hope of relief;

relief; if God had not by his over-ruling Providence, given ſome interruption to the prevailing Power and Counſel of thoſe who were the Authors and Promoters of ſuch peremptory and heady Courſes.

Judges have been put out of their Places, for refuſing to do againſt their Oaths and Conſciences: Others have been ſo awed, that they durſt not do their duties; and the better to hold a Rod over them, the Clauſe *quam diu ſe bene geſſerint* was left out of their Patents, and a new Clauſe, *durante bene placito*, inſerted. Lawyers have been check'd for being faithful to their Clients; Sollicitors and Attornies have been threatned, and ſome puniſhed for following lawful Suits. And by this means all the approaches to Juſtice were interrupted and forecluded. New Oaths have been forced upon the Subject againſt Law; new Judicatories erected without Law: The Council-Table have, by their Orders, offered to bind the Subjects in their Freeholds, Eſtates, Suits, and Actions. The pretended Court of the *Earl Marſhal* was Arbitrary and Illegal in its Being and Proceedings. The Chancery, Exchequer-Chamber, Court of Wards, and other

Engliſh

Engliſh Courts have been grievous in exceeding their Juriſdiction. The Eſtate of many Families weaken'd, and ſome ruin'd by exceſſive Fines, exacted from them for Compoſitions of Wardſhips. All Leaſes of above a hundred Years, made to draw on Wardſhip contrary to Law. Undue proceedings uſed in the finding of Offices, to make the Jury find for the King. The Common-Law Courts ſeeing all men more inclined to ſeek Juſtice there, where it may be fitted to their own deſire, are known frequently to forſake the Rules of the Common-Law, and ſtraining beyond their bounds, under pretence of Equity to do Injuſtice. Titles of Honour, Judicial Places, Serjeantſhips at Law, and other Offices, have been ſold for great Sums of Money; whereby the common Juſtice of the Kingdom hath been much endanger'd, not only by opening a way of Employment in places of great Truſt and Advantage to men of weak Parts, but alſo by giving occaſion to Bribery, Extortion, Partiality: It ſeldom happening that Places ill-gotten are well uſed. Commiſſions have been granted for examining the exceſs of Fees; and when great Exactions have been diſcovered, Compoſitions

tions have been made with Delinquents, not only for the time paſt, but likewiſe for immunity and ſecurity in offending for the time to come; which under colour of remedy, hath but confirmed and increaſed the Grievance to the Subject. The uſual courſe of pricking Sheriffs not obſerved, but many times Sheriffs made in an extraordinary way; ſometimes as a Puniſhment and Charge unto them; ſometimes ſuch were prick'd out, as would be Inſtruments to execute whatſoever they would have to be done.

The Biſhops and the reſt of the Clergy did triumph in the Suſpenſions, Excommunications, Deprivations, and Degradations of divers painful, learned and pious Miniſters, in the vexation and grievous oppreſſion of great numbers of his Majeſty's good Subjects. The High Commiſſion grew to ſuch exceſs of ſharpneſs and ſeverity, as was not much leſs than the *Romiſh* Inquiſition; and yet in many caſes by the Archbiſhop's Power was made much more heavy, being aſſiſted and ſtrengthen'd by Authority of the Council-Table.

The Biſhops and their Courts were as eager in the Countrey; and although their Juriſdiction could not reach ſo high in

in rigor and extremity of Puniſhment, yet were they no leſs grievous in reſpect of the generality and multiplicity of Vexations, which lighting upon the meaner ſort of Tradeſmen and Artificers, did impoveriſh many Thouſands, and ſo afflict and trouble others, that great numbers, to avoid their miſeries, departed out of the Kingdom, ſome into *New-England*, and other parts of *America*, others into *Holland*, where they have tranſported their Manufactures of Cloath, which is not only a loſs by diminiſhing the preſent Stock of the Kingdom, but a great Miſchief, by impairing and endangering the loſs of that peculiar Trade of Cloathing, which hath been a plentiful Fountain of Wealth and Honour to this Nation. Thoſe were fitteſt for Eccleſiaſtical Preferment, and ſooneſt obtained it, who were moſt officious in promoting Superſtition, moſt virulent in railing againſt Godlineſs and Honeſty.

The moſt publick and ſolemn Sermons before his Majeſty, were either to advance Prerogative above Law, and decry the Property of the Subject; or full of ſuch kind of Invectives, whereby they might make thoſe odious who ſought to maintain the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of

of the Kingdom; and such men were sure to be weeded out of the Commission of the Peace, and out of all other Employments of Power in the Government of the Countrey. Many Noble Personages were Counsellors in Name, but the Power and Authority remained in a few of such as were most addicted to this Party; whose Resolutions and Determinations were brought to the Table for countenance and execution, and not for debate and deliberation; and no man could offer to oppose them, without disgrace and hazard to himself: Nay, all those that did not wholly concur, and actively contribute to the furtherance of their Designs, though otherwise Persons of never so great Honour and Abilities, were so far from being employed in any place of Trust and Power, that they were neglected, discountenanced, and upon all occasions injured and oppressed. This Faction was grown to that height and entireness of Power, that now they began to think of finishing their Work, which consisted of these Three parts.

1. *The Government must be set free from all Restraint of Laws concerning our Persons and States.*

2. *There*

2. *There must be a Conjunction betwixt Papists and Protestants in Doctrine, Discipline, and Ceremonies; only it must not yet be called Popery.*

3. *The* Puritans, *under which Name they include all those that desire to preserve the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, and to maintain Religion in the Power of it, must be either rooted out of the Kingdom with force, or driven out with fear. For the effecting of this, it was thought necessary to reduce* Scotland *to such Popish Superstitions and Innovations as might make them apt to join with* England *in the great Change which was intended. Whereupon new Canons, and a new Liturgy were prest upon them; and when they refused to admit of them, an Army was raised to force them to it; towards which the Clergy and the Papists were very forward in their Contribution. The* Scots *likewise raised an Army for their defence: And when both Armies were come together, and ready for a bloody Encounter, his Majesty's own gracious Disposition, and the Counsel of the* English *Nobility, and dutiful Submission of the* Scots, *did so far prevail against the evil Counsel of others, that a Pacification was made, and his Majesty returned with Peace, and much Honour to* London.

The

The unexpected Reconciliation was most acceptable to all the Kingdom, except to the Malignant Party, whereof the Archbishop and the Earl of *Strafford* being Heads, they and their Faction begun to inveigh against the Peace, and to aggravate the Proceedings of the States; which so incensed his Majesty, that he forthwith prepared again for War. And such was their Confidence, that having corrupted and distempered the whole Frame and Government of the Kingdom, they did now hope to corrupt that which was the only means to restore all to a right frame and temper again; to which end they persuaded his Majesty to call a Parliament; not to seek Counsel and Advice of them, but to draw Countenance and Supply from them, and engage the whole Kingdom in their Quarrel; and in the mean time continued all their unjust Levies of Money; resolving either to make the Parliament pliant to their Will, and to establish mischief by a Law, or else to break it. And with more colour to go on by Violence to take what they could not obtain by Consent, the Ground alledged for the Justification of this War, was this;

That the undutiful Demands of the Parliament of *Scotland*, was a ſufficient Reaſon for his Majeſty to take Arms againſt them, without hearing the Reaſon of thoſe Demands: And thereupon a new Army was prepared againſt them; their Ships were ſeized in all Ports both of *England* and *Ireland*, and at Sea; their Petitions rejected, their Commiſſioners refuſed Audience: This whole Kingdom moſt miſerably diſtemper'd with Levies of Men and Money, and Impriſonments of thoſe who denied to ſubmit to thoſe Levies. The Earl of *Strafford* paſs'd into *Ireland*, cauſed the Parliament there to declare againſt the *Scots*, to give four Subſidies towards that War; and to engage themſelves, their Lives and Fortunes, for the proſecution of it; and gave directions for an Army of Eight thouſand Foot, and One thouſand Horſe, to be levied there, which were for the moſt part Papiſts. The Parliament met upon the 13*th* of *April*, 1640. The Earl of *Strafford*, and Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with their Party, ſo prevailed with his Majeſty, that the *Houſe of Commons* was preſt to yield to a Supply for maintenance of the War with *Scotland*, before they had provided any Relief for the

the great and preſſing Grievances of the People; which being againſt the Fundamental Privilege and proceeding of Parliament, was yet in humble Reſpect to his Majeſty ſo far admitted, as that they agreed to take the matter of Supply into Conſideration; and two ſeveral days it was debated. Twelve Subſidies were demanded for the Releaſe of Ship-money alone; a third day was appointed for concluſion; when the Heads of that Party begun to fear the People might cloſe with the King in ſatisfying his deſire of Money; but that withal they were like to blaſt their malicious deſigns againſt *Scotland*, finding them very much indiſpoſed to give any countenance to that War;

Thereupon they wickedly adviſed the King to break off the Parliament, and to return to the ways of Confuſion, in which their own evil Intentions were moſt like to proſper and ſucceed.

After the Parliament ended the fifth of *May*, 1640, this Party grew ſo bold, as to counſel the King to ſupply himſelf out of his Subjects Eſtates by his own Power, at his own Will, without their Conſent. The very next day ſome *Members of both Houſes* had their Studies and Cabinets,

yea their Pockets ſearched: Another of them, not long after, was committed cloſe Priſoner, for not delivering ſome Petitions which he received by Authority of that *Houſe*: And if harſher courſes were intended (as was reported) it is very probable that the ſickneſs of the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Tumultuous Riſing in *Southwark*, and about *Lambeth*, were the Cauſes that ſuch violent Intentions were not brought to execution. A falſe and ſcandalous Declaration againſt the *Houſe of Commons*, was publiſhed in his Majeſty's Name, which yet wrought little effect with the People, but only to manifeſt the Impudence of thoſe who were Authors of it.

A forced Loan of Money was attempted in the City of *London*.

The Lord Mayor and Aldermen in their ſeveral Wards enjoined to bring in a Liſt of the Names of ſuch Perſons as they judged fit to lend, and of the Sum they ſhould lend. And ſuch Aldermen as refuſed ſo to do, were committed to Priſon.

The *Archbiſhop* and the other *Biſhops* and *Clergy* continued the *Convocation*, and by a new Commiſſion turned it to a *Provincial Synod*; in which, by an unheard-

heard-of presumption, they made *Canons* that contain in them many matters contrary to the King's Prerogative, to the Fundamental Laws and Statutes of the Realm, to the Right of *Parliaments*, to the Property and Liberty of the Subject, and matters tending to Sedition, and of dangerous consequence, thereby establishing their own Usurpations, justifying their Altar-Worship, and those other Superstitious Innovations, which they formerly introduced without warrant of Law.

They imposed a new Oath upon divers of his Majesty's Subjects, both *Ecclesiastical* and *Lay*, for maintenance of their own Tyranny; and laid a great Tax upon the Clergy for Supply of his Majesty; and generally they shewed themselves very affectionate to the War with *Scotland*, which was by some of them stiled *Bellum Episcopale*; and a Prayer composed, and enjoined to be read in all Churches, calling the *Scots Rebels*, to put the two Nations into Blood, and make them irreconcileable. All those pretended *Canons* and *Constitutions* were armed with the several Censures of *Suspension*, *Excommunication*, *Deprivation*, by which they would have thrust out all the good

Miniſters, and moſt of the well-affected People of the Kingdom, and left an eaſy Paſſage to their own Deſign of Reconciliation with *Rome*. The *Popiſh* Party enjoined ſuch Exemptions from the *Penal Laws*, as amounted to a Toleration, beſides many other Encouragements and Court-Favours: They had a Secretary of State, Sir *Francis Windebank*, a powerful Agent for the ſpeeding of all their deſires; a *Pope's Nuncio* reſiding here to act and govern them according to ſuch influences as he received from *Rome*, and to intercede for them with the moſt powerful concurrence of the Foreign Princes of that Religion: By his Authority the *Papiſts* of all ſorts, Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, were convocated after the manner of a *Parliament*; new Juriſdictions were erected of *Romiſh Archbiſhops*, Taxes levied, another State moulded within this State, independent in Government, contrary in Intereſt and Affection, ſecretly corrupting the ignorant or negligent Profeſſors of our Religion, and cloſely uniting and combining themſelves againſt ſuch as were found, in this poſture waiting for an opportunity by force to deſtroy thoſe whom they could not hope to ſeduce. For the effecting whereof,

whereof, they were ſtrengthen'd with Arms and Munition, encouraged by ſuperſtitious Prayers, enjoined by the *Nuncio* to be Weekly made, for the proſperity of ſome great deſign. And ſuch power had they at Court, that ſecretly a Commiſſion was iſſued out, intended to be iſſued to ſome Great Men of that Profeſſion, for the levying of Soldiers, and to command and employ them according to private Inſtructions, which we doubt were framed for the advantage of thoſe who were the Contrivers of them: His Majeſty's Treaſure was conſumed, his Revenue anticipated; his Servants and Officers compelled to lend great Sums of Money: Multitudes were called to the *Council-Table*, who were tired with long attendances there, for refuſing illegal Payments. The *Priſons* were filled with their Commitments; many of the Sheriffs ſummoned into the *Star Chamber*, and ſome impriſoned, for not being quick enough in levying the Ship-money; the People languiſhed under grief and fear, no viſible hope being left, but in deſperation. The Nobility began to be weary of their ſilence, and patience, and ſenſible of the Duty and Truſt which belongs to them; and thereupon ſome of

the moſt eminent of them did petition his Majeſty at ſuch a time when Evil Counſels were ſo ſtrong, that they had reaſon to expect more hazard to themſelves, than redreſs of thoſe publick Evils for which they interceded. Whilſt the Kingdom was in this agitation and diſtemper, the *Scots*, reſtrained in their Trades, impoveriſhed by the loſs of many of their Ships, bereaved of all poſſibility of ſatisfying his Majeſty by any naked Supplication, entred with a powerful Army into the Kingdom; and without any hoſtile Act or Spoil in the Countrey as they paſſed, more than forcing a Paſſage over the *Tyne* at *Newborne*, near *Newcaſtle*, poſſeſſed themſelves of *Newcaſtle*; and had a fair opportunity to preſs on further upon the King's Army, but Duty and Reverence to his Majeſty, and Brotherly Love to the *Engliſh* Nation, made them ſtay there; whereby the King had leiſure to entertain better Counſels; wherein God ſo bleſſed and directed him, that he ſummoned the Great Council of Peers to meet at *York* upon the 24*th* of *September*, and there declared a Parliament to begin the Third of *November* then following. The *Scots* the firſt day of the Great Council, preſented

ſented an humble Petition to his Majeſty, whereupon the Treaty was appointed at *Rippon*; a preſent Ceſſation of Arms agreed upon; and the full Concluſion of all Differences referred to the Wiſdom and Care of the Parliament. At our firſt meeting, all Oppoſitions ſeemed to vaniſh; the miſchiefs were ſo evident which thoſe Evil Counſellors produced, that no man durſt ſtand up to defend them. Yet the Work it ſelf afforded Difficulty enough. The multiplied Evils and Corruption of Sixteen Years, ſtrengthen'd by Cuſtom and Authority, and the concurrent Intereſt of many powerful Delinquents, were now to be brought to Judgment and Reformation. The King's Houſhold was to be provided for; they had brought him to that Want, that he could not ſupply his ordinary and neceſſary Expences, without the aſſiſtance of his People. Two Armies were to be paid, which amounted very near to Eighty thouſand Pounds a Month; the People were to be tenderly charged, having been formerly exhauſted with many burthenſome Projects.

The difficulties ſeemed to be inſuperable, which by the Divine Providence we have overcome. The Contrarieties incompatible,

compatible, which yet in a great measure we have reconciled. Six Subsidies have been granted, and a Bill of Poll-money; which if it be duly levied, may equal Six Subsidies more, in all Six hundred thousand Pounds. Besides, we have contracted a Debt to the *Scots*, of Two hundred and twenty thousand Pounds; and yet God hath so blessed the Endeavours of this Parliament, that the Kingdom is a great Gainer by all these Charges. The Ship-money is abolished, which cost the Kingdom above Two hundred thousand Pounds a Year. The Coat and Conduct-money, and other Military Charges, are taken away, which in many Counties amounted to little less than the Ship-money. The Monopolies are all suppress, whereof some few did prejudice the Subject above a Million Yearly. The Soap an Hundred thousand Pounds; the Wine Three hundred thousand Pounds; the Leather must needs exceed both; and Salt could be no less than that; besides the inferior Monopolies, which if they could be exactly computed, would make up a great Sum. That which is more beneficial than all this, is, That the Root of these Evils is taken away, which was,

The

The Arbitrary Power pretended to be in his Majeſty, of taxing the Subject, or charging their Eſtates without Conſent in Parliament, which is now declared to be againſt Law, by the Judgment of both Houſes, and likewiſe by an Act of Parliament. Another Step of great advantage is this; The living Grievances, the Evil Counſellors and Actors of theſe Miſchiefs have been ſo quell'd by the Juſtice done upon the Earl of *Strafford*, the Flight of the Lord *Finch* and Secretary *Windebank*; the Accuſation and Impriſonment of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, of Judge *Bartlet*, and the Impeachment of divers other Biſhops and Judges; that it is like not only to be an eaſe to the preſent Times, but a preſervation to the future. The diſcontinuance of Parliaments is prevented by the Bill for a Triennial Parliament, and the abrupt Diſſolution of this Parliament by another Bill, by which it is provided it ſhall not be diſſolved or adjourned, without the Conſent of both Houſes.

Which two Laws well conſidered, may be thought more advantageous than all the former, becauſe they ſecure a full operation of the preſent Remedy, and afford a perpetual Spring of Remedies for the future.

future. The Star-chamber, the High-Commiſſion, the Courts of the Preſident, and Council in the North, were ſo many forges of miſery, oppreſſion, and violence, and are all taken away, whereby men are more ſecured in their perſons, liberties and eſtates, than they could be by any Law or Example for the regulation of thoſe Courts, or terror of the Judges; The immoderate power of the *Council-table*, and the exceſſive abuſe of that power, is ſo ordered and reſtrained, that we may well hope that no ſuch things as were frequently done by them, to the prejudice of the publick liberty, will appear in future times but only in ſtories, to give us and our poſterity more occaſion to praiſe God for his Majeſties goodneſs, and the faithful endeavous of this *Parliament*. The *Canons* and the power of *Canon*-making, are blaſted by the Vote of both *Houſes*. The exorbitant power of *Biſhops* and their Courts are much abated, by ſome proviſions in the Bill againſt the *High-Commiſſion Court*. The Authors of the many Innovations in Doctrine and Ceremonies; The Miniſters that have been ſcandalous in their lives, have been ſo terrified in juſt complaints and accuſations, that we may well hope they will be

be more modeſt for the time to come; either inwardly convicted by the ſight of their own folly, or outwardly reſtrained by the fear of puniſhment. The *Foreſts* are by a good Law reduced to their right bounds; the encroachments and oppreſſions of the *Stannery Courts*; The Extortions of the *Clerk* of the Market, and the compulſion of the Subject to receive the Order of Knighthood againſt his will, paying of Fines for not receiving it, and the vexatious proceedings thereupon for levying of thoſe Fines, are by other beneficial Laws reformed and prevented. Many excellent Laws and proviſions are in preparation for removing the inordinate power, vexation, and uſurpation of *Biſhops*, for reforming the pride and idleneſs of many of the *Clergy*, for eaſing the people of unneceſſary Ceremonies in Religion, for cenſuring and removing unworthy and unprofitable Miniſters; and for maintaining godly and diligent Preachers through the Kingdom: Other things of main importance for the good of this Kingdom are in propoſition, though little could hitherto be done, in regard of the many other more preſſing buſineſſes, which yet before the end of this Seſſion, we hope may receive ſome progreſs

greſs and perfection. The eſtabliſhing and ordering the King's Revenue, that ſo the abuſe of Officers, and ſuperfluity of expences may be cut off, and the neceſſary disburſments for his Majeſties Honour, the defence and government of the Kingdom, may be more certainly provided for. The regulating of Courts of Juſtice, and abridging both the delays and charges of Law-Suits; The ſetling of ſome good courſes for preventing the exportation of Gold and Silver, and the inequality of exchanges betwixt Us and other Nations, for the advancing of native Commodities, increaſe of our Manufactures, and well ballacing of Trade, whereby the Stock of the Kingdom may be increaſed or at leaſt kept from impairing; as through neglect hereof it hath done for many years laſt paſt; For improving the Herring-fiſhing upon our own Coaſts, which will be of mighty uſe in the imployment of the Poor, and a plentiful Nurſery of Mariners for inabling the Kingdom in any great Action. The oppoſitions, obſtructions, and other Difficulties wherewith we have been encountred and which ſtill lye in our way with ſome ſtrength and much obſtinacy are theſe: The malignant Party whom we have formerly

merly deſcribed to be the Actors and Promoters of all our Miſery, they have taken heart again: They have been able to prefer ſome of their own Factors and Agents to Degrees of Honour, to Places of Truſt and Employment, even during the Parliament. They have endeavoured to work in his Majeſty ill impreſſions and opinions of our Proceedings, as if we had altogether done our own work, and not his; and had obtained from him many things very prejudicial to the Crown, both in reſpect of Prerogative and Profit. To wipe out this Slander, we think good only to ſay thus much; That all that we have done, is for his Majeſty, his Greatneſs, Honour, and Support. When we yielded to give Twenty five thouſand Pounds a Month for the Relief of the *Northern* Countries, this was given to the King, for he was bound to protect his Subjects: They were his Majeſty's Evil Counſellors, and their ill Inſtruments that were Actors in thoſe Grievances which brought in the *Scots*. And if his Majeſty pleaſe to force thoſe who were the Authors of this War, to make ſatisfaction, as he might juſtly and eaſily do, it ſeems very reaſonable that the People might well be excuſed from

from taking upon them this burthen, being altogether innocent and free from being any Cauſes of it.

When we undertook the Charge of the Army, which coſt above 50000 *l.* a Month, was not this given to the King? Was it not his Majeſty's Army? Were not all the Commanders under Contract with his Majeſty at higher Rates and greater Wages than ordinary? And have not we taken upon us to diſcharge all the Brotherly Aſſiſtance of Three hundred thouſand Pounds which we gave the *Scots*? Was it not toward repair of thoſe Damages and Loſſes which they received from the King's Ships, and from his Miniſters? Theſe three Particulars amount to above Eleven hundred thouſand Pounds: Beſides, his Majeſty hath received by Impoſitions upon Merchandiſe, at leaſt Four hundred thouſand Pounds; ſo that his Majeſty hath had out of the Subjects Purſe ſince the Parliament began, one Million and an half; and yet theſe men can be ſo impudent, as to tell his Majeſty that we have done nothing for him. As to the ſecond Branch of this Slander, we acknowledge with much Thankfulneſs, that his Majeſty hath paſſed more good Bills to the advantage

tage of the Subjects, than have been in many Ages; but withal we cannot forget that these venomous Counsels did manifest themselves in some endeavours to hinder these good Acts: and for both Houses of Parliament we may with truth and modesty say thus much, That we have ever been careful not to desire any thing that should weaken the Crown either in just profit or useful power. The triennial Parliament, for the matter of it, doth not extend to so much as by Law we ought to have required; there being two Statutes still in force for a Parliament to be once a year; and for the manner of it, it is in the King's power, that it shall never take effect, if he by a timely summons shall prevent any other way of assembling. In the Bill for continuance of this present Parliament, there seems to be some restraint of the Royal Power in dissolving of Parliaments, not to take it out of the Crown, but to suspend the execution of it for this time and occasion only, which was so necessary for the King's own security, and the publick Peace, that without it we could not have undertaken any of these great charges, but must have left both the Armies to disorder and confusion, and the whole

Kingdom to blood and rapine. The Star-chamber was much more fruitful in oppreſſion than in profit, the great fines being for the moſt part given away, and the reſt ſtalled at long times. The fines of the High-Commiſſion were in themſelves unjuſt, and ſeldom or never came into the King's Purſe. Theſe four Bills are particularly and more ſpecially inſtanced; in the reſt there will not be found ſo much as a ſhadow of prejudice to the Crown. They have ſought to diminiſh our reputation with the people, and to bring them out of love with Parliaments: the aſperſions which they have attempted this way, have been ſuch as theſe, That we have ſpent much time and done little, eſpecially in thoſe grievances which concern Religion. That the Parliament is a burthen to the Kingdom by the abundance of Protections, which hinder Juſtice and Trade; and by many Subſidies granted, much more heavy than any they formerly endured. To which there is a ready Anſwer, if the time ſpent in this Parliament be conſidered in relation backward to the long growth and deep root of thoſe grievances, which we have removed, to the powerful Supports of thoſe Delinquents which we have purſued, to the

the great neceſſities and other charges of the Commonwealth for which we have provided: or if it be conſidered in relation forward, to many advantages which not only the preſent, but future ages are like to reap by the good Laws and other proceedings in this Parliament; we doubt not but it will be thought by all indifferent Judgments, that our time hath been much better imployed than in a far greater proportion of time in many former Parliaments put together; and the charges which have been laid upon the Subject, and the other inconveniences which they have born, will ſeem very light in reſpect of the benefit they have and may receive. And for the matter of Protections, the Parliament is ſo ſenſible of it, that therein they intend to give them whatſoever eaſe may ſtand with Honour and Juſtice; and are in a way of paſſing a Bill to give them ſatisfaction. They have ſought by many ſubtile practices, to cauſe jealouſies and diviſions betwixt us and our brethren of *Scotland*, by ſlandering their proceedings and intentions towards us, and by ſecret endeavours to inſtigate and incenſe them and us one againſt another. They have had ſuch a party of Biſhops and Popiſh Lords

in the Houſe of Peres as hath cauſed much oppoſition and delay in the proſecution of Delinquents, hindred the proceeding of divers good Bills paſſed in the Commons houſe, concerning the reformation of ſundry great abuſes and corruptions both in Church and State. They have laboured to ſeduce and corrupt ſome of the Commons Houſe, to draw them into conſpiracies and combinations againſt the liberty of the Parliament: And by their inſtruments and agents they have attempted to diſaffect and diſcontent his Majeſties Army, and to engage it for the maintainance of their wicked and traiterous deſigns, the keeping up of Biſhops in votes and functions, and by force to compel the Parliament to order, limit and diſpoſe their proceedings in ſuch manner as might beſt concur with the intentions of this dangerous and potent faction: And when one miſcheivous deſign and attempt of theirs to bring on the Army againſt the Parliament, and the City of *London*, had been diſcovered and prevented; they preſently undertook another of the ſame damnable nature, with this addition to it; to endeavour to make the *Scotiſh* Army neutral, whilſt the *Engliſh* Army which they had laboured to corrupt

rupt and invenome againſt us by their falſe and ſlanderous ſuggeſtions, ſhould execute their malice to the ſubverſion of our Religion, and the diſſolution of our government. Thus they have been continually practiſing to diſturb the peace, and plotting the deſtruction even of all the Kings Dominions, and have employed their Emiſſaries and Agents in them, all for the promoting of their divelliſh Deſigns, which the vigilancy of thoſe who were well affected hath ſtill diſcovered and defeated before they were ripe for execution in *England* and *Scotland*; only in *Ireland* which was farther off, they have had time and opportunity to mould and prepare their work, and had brought it to that perfection that they had poſſeſſed themſelves of that whole Kingdom, totally ſubverted the government of it, rooted out Religion, and deſtroyed all the Proteſtants whom the conſcience of their duty to God, their King and Country would not have permitted to join with them, if by Gods wonderful providence their main enterpriſe upon the City and Caſtle of *Dublin*, had not been detected and prevented upon the very Eve before it ſhould have been executed. Notwithſtanding, they have in other parts

of that Kingdom broken out into open Rebellion, ſurprized Towns and Caſtles, committed Murders, Rapes, and other Villanies; and ſhaken off all bonds of obedience to his Majeſty, and the Laws of the Realm; and in general have kindled ſuch a fire, as nothing but God's infinite bleſſing upon the wiſdom and endeavours of this State will be able to quench it: And certainly had not God in his great mercy unto this Land diſcovered and confounded their former deſigns, we had been the Prologue to this Tragedy in *Ireland*, and had by this time been made the lamentable ſpectacle of miſery and confuſion. And now what hope have we but in God, when as the only means of our ſubſiſtence, and power of Reformation is under him, in the Parliament? but what can we the Commons without the conjuction of the Houſe of Lords, and what conjunction can we expect there, when the Biſhops and Recuſant Lords are ſo numerous and prevalent, that they are able to croſs and interrupt our beſt endeavours for Reformation, and by that means give advantage to this malignant party to traduce our proceedings? They infuſe into the People, that we mean to aboliſh all Church-government,

ment, and leave every man to his own fancy for the ſervice and worſhip of God, abſolving him of that obedience which he owes under God unto his Majeſty, whom we know to be intruſted with the Eccleſiaſtical Law as well as with the Temporal, to regulate all the Members of the Church of *England*, by ſuch rules of Order and Diſcipline as are eſtabliſhed by Parliament, which is his great Councel in all Affairs both in Church and State. We confeſs our intention is, and our endeavours have been to reduce within bounds that exorbitant power which the Prelates have aſſumed unto themſelves ſo contrary both to the Word of God and to the Laws of the Land; to which end we paſt the Bill for the removing them from their temporal power and employments, that ſo the better they might with Meekneſs apply themſelves to the diſcharge of their Functions; which Bill themſelves oppoſed, and were the principal inſtruments of croſſing it.

And we do here declare, That it is far from our purpoſe or deſire to let looſe the Golden Reins of Diſcipline, and Government in the Church, to leave private perſons or particular Congregations to take up what form of divine Service they

pleaſe; for we hold it requiſite that there ſhould be throughout the whole Realm a conformity to that Order which the Laws enjoyn, according to the Word of God: and we deſire to unburthen the conſciences of men, of needleſs and ſuperſtitious Ceremonies, ſuppreſs innovations, and take away the monuments of Idolatry. And the better to effect the intended Reformation, we deſire there may be a general Synod of the moſt grave, pious, learned, and judicious Divines of this Iſland, aſſiſted with ſome from foreign parts profeſſing the ſame Religion with us, who may conſider of all things neceſſary for the peace and good government of the Church, and repreſent the reſults of their conſultations unto the Parliament, to be there allowed of and confirmed, and receive the ſtamp of authority, thereby to find paſſage and obedience throughout the Kingdom. They have maliciouſly charged us that we intend to deſtroy and diſcourage Learning; whereas it is our chiefeſt care and deſire to advance it, and to provide a competent maintenance for conſcionable and preaching Miniſters throughout the Kingdom, which will be a great encouregement to Scholars, and a certain means whereby the want, mean-

meanneſs, and ignorance to which a great part of the Clergy is now ſubject, will be prevented. And we intend likewiſe to reform, and purge the Fountains of Learning, the two Univerſities, that the ſtreams flowing from thence may be clear and pure, and an honour and comfort to the whole Land. They have ſtrained to blaſt our proceedings in Parliament, by wreſting the Interpretations of our Orders from their genuine intention. They tell the people that our medling with the power of Epiſcopacy, hath cauſed Sectaries and Conventicles; when Idolatry and Popiſh Ceremonies introduced into the Church by the command of the Biſhops, have not only debarred the people from thence, but expelled them from the Kingdom. Thus with *Elijah* we are called by this Malignant party the troublers of the State; and ſtill while we endeavour to reform their abuſes, they make us the Authors of thoſe miſchiefs we ſtudy to prevent. For the perfecting of the work begun, and removing all future impediments, we concieve theſe courſes will be very effectual, ſeeing the Religion of the Papiſts hath ſuch principles as do certainly tend to the deſtruction and extirpation of all Proteſtants when they

they ſhall have opportunity to effect it.

It is neceſſary in the firſt place to keep them in ſuch condition, as that they may not be able to do us any hurt, and for avoiding of ſuch connivance and favour as hath heretofore been ſhewed unto them. That his Majeſty be pleaſed to grant a ſtanding Commiſſion to ſome choice men named in Parliament, who may take notice of their increaſe, their counſels and proceedings; and uſe all due means by execution of the Laws, to prevent any miſchievous deſigns againſt the peace and ſafety of this Kingdom. That ſome good courſe be taken to diſcover the counterfeit and falſe conformity of Papiſts to the Church; by colour whereof Perſons very much diſaffected to the true Religion have been admitted into place of greateſt authority and truſt in the Kingdom.

For the better preſervation of the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, that all illegal grievances and exactions be preſented and puniſhed at the Seſſions, and Aſſizes; and that Judges and Juſtices be careful to give this in charge to the Grand Jury, and both the Sheriff and Juſtices to be ſworn to the due execution of the

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Petition of Right, and other Laws: That his Majesty be humbly Petitioned by both Houses to employ such Counsellors, Ambassadors, and other Ministers, in managing his business at home and abroad, as the Parliament may have cause to confide in; without which we cannot give his Majesty such supplies for support of his own estate, nor such assistance to the Protestant party beyond the Sea, as is desired. It may often fall out that the Commons may have just cause to take exceptions at some men for being Counsellors, and yet not charge those men with Crimes, for there be grounds of diffidence which lye not in proof; there are others which tho they may be proved, yet are not legally criminal. To be a known favourer of Papists, or to have been very forward in defending or countenancing some great offenders questioned in Parliament; or to speak contemptuously of either Houses of Parliament, or Parliamentary proceedings; or such as are Factors or Agents for any Foreign Prince of another Religion; such as are justly suspected to get Councellors places or any other of trust concerning publick imployments, for Money: For all these and divers others we may have great rea-

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ſon to be earneſt with his Majeſty not to put his great Affairs into ſuch hands, though we may be unwilling to proceed againſt them in any legal way of charge or impeachment. That all Councellors of State may be ſworn to obſerve thoſe Laws which concern the Subject in his liberty; that they may likewiſe take an Oath not to receive or give Reward or Penſion from any Foreign Prince, but ſuch as they within ſome reaſonable time diſcover to the Lords of his Majeſties Council: and although they ſhould wickedly forſwear themſelves, yet it may herein do good to make them known to be falſe and perjured to thoſe who imploy them, and thereby bring them into as little credit with them as with us. That his Majeſty may have cauſe to be in love with good Counſel and good men, by ſhewing him in an humble and dutiful manner, how full of advantage it would be to himſelf, to ſee his own Eſtate ſetled in a plentiful condition to ſupport his honour, to ſee his People united in ways of duty to him, and endeavours of the publick good; to ſee Happineſs, Wealth, Peace and Safety derived to his own Kingdom, and procured to his Allies by the influence of his own power and government.

vernment. That all good courſes may be taken to unite the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, to be mutually aiding and aſſiſting one another for the common good of the Iſland, and honour of both. To take away all differences amongſt our ſelves for matters indifferent in their own nature concerning Religion, and to unite our ſelves againſt the common enemies, which are the better enabled by our diviſions to deſtroy us all, as they hope and have often endeavoured. To labour by all offices of friendſhip to unite the Foreign Churches with us in the ſame cauſe, and to ſeek their liberty, ſafety, and proſperity, as bound thereunto both by charity to them, and by wiſdom for our own good. For by this means our own ſtrength ſhall be encreaſed, and by a mutual concurrence to the ſame common end, we ſhall be enabled to procure the good of the whole body of the Proteſtant Profeſſion. If theſe things may be obſerved, we doubt not but God will crown this Parliament with ſuch ſucceſs as ſhall be the beginning and foundation of more honour and happineſs to his Majeſty, than ever yet was enjoyed by any of his Royal Predeceſſors.

His

His Majesties Answer to the Petition which accompanied the Declaration presented to him at Hampton *Court*, Dec. 1. 1641.

WE having received from you, soon after our Return out of *Scotland*, a long Petition, consisting of many desires of great moment; together with a Declaration of a very unusual nature annexed thereunto; We had taken some time to consider of it, as befitted Us in a matter of that consequence, being confident, that your own reason and regard to Us, as well as Our expres intimation by our Comptroller to that purpose, would have restrained you from the publishing of it, till such time as you should have reeceived our Answer to it: But, much against our expectation, finding the contrary, that the said Declaration is already abroad in Print, by directions from your House, as appears by the printed Copy: we must let you know, that we are very sensible of the disrespect. Notwithstanding, it is our intention, that no failing on your part, shall make us fail in ours, of giving all due satisfaction to the desires of our People in a Parliamentary way; And therefore we send you

you this Anſwer to your Petition, reſerving our ſelf in point of the Declaration, which we think unparliamentary, and ſhall take a courſe to do that which we ſhall think fit in prudence and honour.

To the Petition we ſay, that altho there are divers things in the Preamble of it, which we are ſo far from admiting, that we profeſs we cannot at all underſtand them, as, *Of a wicked and malignant party prevalent in the Government*; *Of ſome of that party admitted to our Privy Council, and to other Employments of truſt, and neareſt to Us and our Children*; *Of Endeavours to ſow among the People falſe ſcandals and imputations, to blemiſh and diſgrace the proceedings of the Parliament*: All, or any of which, did we know of, we ſhould be as ready to remedy and puniſh, as you to complain of. That the prayers of your Petition are grounded upon ſuch premiſſes as We muſt in no wiſe admit; yet notwithſtanding we are pleaſed to give this Anſwer to you.

To the firſt, concerning Religion, conſiſting of ſeveral branches, we ſay, That for the preſerving the peace and ſafety of this Kingdom from the deſigns of the Popiſh party, we have, and will ſtill concur

cur with all the juſt deſires of our people in a Parliamentary way. That for the depriving of the Biſhops of their Votes in Parliament, We would have you conſider, that their right is grounded upon the fundamental Law of the Kingdom, and conſtitution of Parliament; This we would have you conſider; but ſince you deſire our concurrence herein in a Parliamentary way, we will give no further anſwer at this time.

As for the abridging of the inordinate power of the Clergy, we conceive that the taking away of the High-Commiſſion Court hath well moderated that; but if there continue any Uſurpations, or Exceſſes in their Juriſdictions, we therein neither have nor will protect them.

Unto that Clauſe which concerneth Corruptions (as you ſtile them) in Religion, in Church-government, and in Diſcipline, and the removing of ſuch unneceſſary Ceremonies as weak Conſciences might cheque at: That for any illegal Innovations, which may have crept in, we ſhall willingly concur in the removal of them. That if our Parliament ſhall adviſe us to call a National Synod, which may duly examine ſuch Ceremonies as give juſt cauſe of offence to any,

we

we ſhall take it into conſideration, and apply our ſelf to give due ſatisfaction therein; But we are very ſorry to hear in ſuch general terms, Corruption in Religion objected, ſince we are perſwaded in our conſcience that no Church can be found upon the earth that profeſſeth the true Religion with more purity of Doctrine than the Church of *England* doth, nor where the Government and Diſcipline are joyntly more beautified, and free from Superſtition, than as they are here eſtabliſhed by Law; which (by the grace of God) we will with conſtancy maintain (while we live) in their Purity and Glory, not only againſt all invaſions of Popery, but alſo from the irreverence of thoſe many Schiſmaticks and Separatiſts, wherewith of late this Kingdom and this City abounds, to the great diſhonour and hazard both of Church and State; for the ſuppreſſion of whom we require your timely aid and active aſſiſtance.

To the ſecond prayer of the Petition, concerning the removal and choice of Councellors, we know not any of our Council to whom the Character ſet forth in the Petition can belong. That by thoſe whom we had expoſed to trial, we have already given you ſufficient teſtimony,

that there is no man ſo near unto us in place or affection, whom we will not leave to the Juſtice of the Law, if you ſhall bring a particular charge, and ſufficient proofs againſt him; and of this we do again aſſure you: but in the mean time we wiſh you to forbear ſuch general aſperſions as may reflect upon all our Council, ſince you name none in particular.

That for the choice of our Councellors and Miniſters of State, it were to debar us that natural liberty all Freemen have; and it is the undoubted right of the Crown of *England*, to call ſuch perſons to our Secret Councils, to publick employment, and our particular ſervice, as we ſhall think fit, ſo we are, and ever ſhall be very careful to make election of ſuch perſons in thoſe places of truſt, as ſhall have given good teſtimonies of their abilities and integrity, and againſt whom there can be no juſt cauſe of exception, whereon reaſonably to ground a diffidence; and to choices of this nature, we aſſure you that the mediation of the neareſt unto us hath always concurred.

To the third Prayer of your Petition, concerning *Ireland*, we underſtand your deſire o fnot alienating the forfeited Lands thereof

thereof, to proceed from your much care and love; And likewiſe that it may be a Reſolution very fit for us to take; but whether it be ſeaſonable to declare Reſolutions of that nature before the events of a War be ſeen, that we much doubt of. Howſoever, we cannot but thank you for this care, and your chearful ingagement for the ſuppreſſion of that Rebellion; upon the ſpeedy effecting thereof, the glory of God in the Proteſtant Profeſſion, the ſafety of the *Britiſh* there, our honour, and that of the Nation ſo much depends; all the Intereſts of this Kingdom being ſo involved in that buſineſs, we cannot but quicken your affections therein, and ſhall deſire you to frame your Councils, and to give ſuch expedition to the work, as the nature thereof, and the preſſures in point of time requires, and whereof you are put in mind by the daily inſolence and encreaſe of thoſe Rebels.

For Concluſion, your promiſe to apply your ſelves to ſuch courſes as may ſupport our Royal Eſtate with Honour and Plenty at home, and with Power and Reputation abroad, is that which we have ever promiſed our ſelf, both from your Loyalties and Affections, and alſo

for what we have already done, and ſhall daily go adding unto for the comfort and happineſs of our People.

His Majeſties Declaration to all His loving Subjects. Publiſhed with the advice of His Privy Council.

ALthough we do not believe that our Houſe of Commons intended, by their Remonſtrance of the State of the Kingdom, to put us to any Apology, either for our paſt or preſent Actions; Notwithſtanding, ſince they have thought it ſo very neceſſary (upon their Obſervation of the preſent Diſtemper) to publiſh the ſame, for the ſatisfaction of all our loving Subjects, We have thought it very ſuitable to the duty of our place (with which God hath truſted us) to do our part to ſo good a work; in which we ſhall not think it below our Kingly dignity to deſcend to any particular, which may compoſe and ſettle the affections of our meaneſt Subjects; ſince we are ſo conſcious to our ſelf of ſuch upright Intentions and endeavours, and only of ſuch (for which we give God thanks) for the peace and happineſs of our Kingdom,

in

in which the prosperity of our Subjects must be included, that we wish from our heart, that even our most secret thoughts were published to their view and examnation. Though we must confess we cannot but be very sorry in this conjuncture of time (when the unhappiness of this Kingdom is so generally understood abroad) there should be such a necessity of publishing so many particulars, from which, we pray, no inconveniences may ensue that were not intended.

We shall in few words pass over that part of the Narrative, wherein the Misfortunes of this Kingdom from our first entring to the Crown, to the beginning of this Parliament, are remembred in so sensible expressions; And that other which acknowledgeth the many good Laws passed by our Grace and Favour this Parliament for the Security of our people; Of which we shall only say thus much, That as we have not refused to pass any Bill presented to us by our Parliament, for redress of those Grievances mentioned in the Remonstrance, so we have not had a greater Motive for the passing those Laws than our own Resolution (grounded upon our Observation, and understanding the State of our King-

dom) to have freed our Subjects for the future, from those Pressures which were grievous to them, if those Laws had not been propounded; which therefore we shall as inviolably maintain, as we look to have our own Rights preserved; not doubting but all our loving Subjects will look on those Remedies, with that full gratitude and affection, that even the memory of what they have formerly undergone by the Accidents and Necessities of those times, will not be unpleasant to them: And possibly in a pious sence of God's blessing upon this Nation (how little share soever we shall have of the acknowledgment) they will confess they have enjoyed a great measure of happiness (even the last sixteen Years) both in peace and plenty, not only comparatively in respect of their Neighbours, but even of those times which were justly accounted Fortunate.

The Fears and Jealousies which may make some impression in the minds of our People, we will suppose may be of two sorts; either for Religion, or Liberty, and their Civil Interests. The fears for Religion may haply be, not only as ours here established may be invaded by the *Romish* party, but as it is accompanied

ed with ſome Ceremonies, at which ſome tender Conſciences really are, or pretend to be ſcandalized; for of any other which have been uſed without any legal Warrant or Injunction, and already are, or ſpeedily may be aboliſhed, we ſhall not ſpeak.

Concerning Religion, as there may be any ſuſpicion of favour or inclination to the Papiſts, we are willing to declare to all the World, That as we have been from our Childhood brought up in, and practiſed the Religion now eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom, ſo it is well known, we have (not contented ſimply with the Principles of our Education) given a good proportion of our time and pains, to the examination of the grounds of this Religion, as it is different from that of *Rome*, and are from our Soul ſo fully ſatisfied and aſſured, that it is the moſt pure, and agreeable to the Sacred Word of God, of any Religion now practiſed in the Chriſtian World; That as we believe we can maintain the ſame by unanſwerable Reaſons, ſo we hope we ſhould readily ſeal to it by the effuſion of our Blood, if it pleaſed God to call us to that ſacrifice. And therefore nothing can be ſo acceptable unto us, as any propoſition which may

contribute to the advancement of it here, or the propagation of it abroad; being the only means to draw down a bleſſing from God upon our ſelves, and this Nation. And we have been extreamly unfortunate, if this profeſſion of ours be wanting to our People: our conſtant practice in our own Perſon, having always been (without oſtentation) as much to the evidence of our care and duty herein, as we could poſſibly tell how to expreſs.

For differences amongſt our ſelves, for matters indifferent in their own nature, concerning Religion, we ſhall, in tenderneſs to any number of our loving Subjects, very willingly comply with the advice of our Parliament, that ſome Law may be made for the exemption of tender Conſciences from puniſhment, or proſecution for ſuch Ceremonies, and in ſuch caſes which by the judgment of moſt men, are held to be matters indifferent, and of ſome to be abſolutely unlawful. Provided that this eaſe be attempted, and purſued with that modeſty, temper and ſubmiſſion, that in the mean time the peace and quiet of the Kingdom be not diſturbed, the decency, and comelineſs of God's ſervice diſcountenanced, nor the pious, ſober, and devout actions

of

of thoſe Reverend Perſons, who were the firſt labourers in the bleſſed Reformation, or of that time, be ſcandal'd and defamed. For we cannot without grief of heart, and without ſome tax upon our Self, and our Miniſters for the not execution of our Laws, look upon the bold Licenſe of ſome men, in Printing of Pamphlets, in Preaching and Printing of Sermons, ſo full of bitterneſs and malice againſt the preſent Government, againſt the Laws eſtabliſhed; ſo full of Sedition againſt our Self, and the peace of the Kingdom, that we are many times amazed to conſider by what Eyes theſe things are ſeen, and by what Ears they are heard; And therefore we have good cauſe to command, as we have done, and hereby do, all our Judges and Miniſters of Juſtice, Our Attorney and Solicitor General, and the reſt of our learned Council, to proceed with all ſpeed againſt ſuch, and their Abettors, who either by writing or words, have ſo boldly and maliciouſly violated the Laws, diſturbed the peace of the Commonwealth; and as much as in them lies, ſhaken the very foundation upon which the Peace and Happineſs is founded and conſtituted. And we doubt not but all our

our loving Subjects, will be very ſenſible that this buſy, virulent demeanour is a fit Prologue to nothing but confuſion; and if not very ſeaſonably puniſhed and prevented, will not only be a blemiſh to that wholſome accommodation we intend, but an unſpeakable ſcandal and imputation, even upon the profeſſion and Religion of this our Kingdom of *England*.

Concerning the Civil Liberties and Intereſts of our Subjects, we ſhall need to ſay the leſs, having erected ſo many laſting Monuments of our Princely and Fatherly care of our People, in thoſe many excellent Laws paſſed by us this Parliament, which in truth (with very much content to our Self) we conceive to be ſo large and ample, that very many ſober Men have very little left to wiſh for.

We underſtood well the Right, and pretences of Right, we debarred from in the conſenting to the Bills of the Triennial Parliament, for the continuance of this preſent Parliament, and in the preamble to the Bill of Tunnage and Poundage; the matter of which having begot ſo many diſturbances in late Parliaments, we are willing to remove, that no intereſt of ours might hereafter break that

correſpondence; abundantly contenting our Self with an Aſſurance (which we ſtill have) that we ſhould be repaired and ſupplied by a juſt proportion of confidence, bounty and obedience of our people. In the Bills for the taking away the High commiſſion and Star-chamber Courts, we believed we had given that real ſatisfaction, that all jealouſies and apprehenſions of Arbitrary preſſures under the Civil or Eccleſiaſtical ſtate, would eaſily have been abandoned, eſpecially when they ſaw all poſſible doubts ſecured by the Viſitation of a Triennial Parliament.

Theſe, and others of no mean conſideration, we had rather ſhould be valued in the hearts and affections of our people, than in any mention of our own; not doubting, but as we have taken all theſe occaſions to render their condition moſt comfortable and happy, ſo they will always in a grateful and dutiful relation, be ready with equal tenderneſs and alacrity, to advance our Rights, and preſerve our Honour, upon which their own ſecurity and ſubſiſtance ſo much depends. And we will be ſo careful, that no particular ſhall be preſented unto us for the compleating and eſtabliſhing that ſecurity, to which we will not with the ſame

ſame readineſs contribute our beſt aſſiſtance.

If theſe reſolutions be the effects of our preſent Councils, (and we take God to witneſs that they are ſuch, and that all our loving Subjects may confidently expect the benefit of them from us) certainly no ill deſign upon the Publick can accompany ſuch Reſolutions; neither will there be greater cauſe of ſuſpicion of any Perſons preferred by us to degrees of Honour, and Places of truſt and employment ſince this Parliament. And we muſt confeſs, that among our misfortunes, we reckon it not the leaſt, that having not retained in our Service, nor protected any one perſon, againſt whom our Parliament hath excepted during the whole ſitting of it, and having in all that time ſcarce vouchſafed to any man an inſtance of our Grace and Favour, but to ſuch who were under ſuch eminent characters of Eſtimation amongſt our People, there ſhould ſo ſoon be any miſ-underſtanding or jealouſy of their fidelity and uprightneſs; eſpecially in a time when we take all occaſions to delare, That we conceive our Self only capable of being ſerved by honeſt Men, and in honeſt ways. However, if in truth we have been miſtaken in ſuch

ſuch our election, the particular ſhall be no ſooner diſcovered to us, either by our own obſervation, or other certain information, than we will leave them to publick Juſtice under the marks of our diſpleaſure.

If notwithſtanding this, any malignant party ſhall take heart, and be willing to ſacrifice the Peace and Happineſs of their Countrey to their own ſiniſter ends and ambitions, under what pretence of Religion and Conſcience ſoever. If they ſhall endeavour to leſſen our Reputation and Intereſt, and to weaken our lawfull Power and Authority with our good Subjects; if they ſhall go about by diſcountenancing the preſent Laws to looſen the Bonds of Government, that all diſorder and confuſion may break in upon us, we doubt not but God in his good time will diſcover them unto us, and the Wiſdom and Courage of our High Court of Parliament join with us in their ſuppreſſion and puniſhment.

Having now ſaid all that we can to expreſs the clearneſs and uprightneſs of our Intentions to our People, and done all we can to manifeſt thoſe Intentions, we cannot but confidently believe all our good Subjects will acknowledge our part to be fully

fully performed, both in deeds paſt, and preſent Reſolutions, to do whatſoever with Juſtice may be required of us; and that their quiet and proſperity depends now wholly upon themſelves and is in their own power, by yielding all obedience and due reverence to the Law, which is the inheritance of every Subject, and the only ſecurity he can have for his Life, Liberty or Eſtate; and the which being neglected or diſeſteemed (under what ſpecious ſhews ſoever) a very great meaſure of infelicity, if not an irreparable confuſion muſt without doubt fall upon them. And we doubt not it will be the moſt acceptable Declaration a King can make to his Subjects, That for our part we are reſolved not only duly to obſerve the Laws our Self, but to maintain them againſt what oppoſition ſoever, though with the hazard of our Being.

And our hope is, that not only the Loyalty and good Affections of all our loving Subjects, will concur with us in the conſtant preſerving a good underſtanding between us and our people, but at this time their own and our intereſt, and compaſſion of the lamentable condition of our poor Proteſtant Subjects in *Ireland*, will invite them to a fair intelligence

gence and unity amongſt themſelves, that ſo we may with one heart intend the relieving and recovering that unhappy Kingdom, where thoſe barbarous Rebels practice ſuch inhumane and unheard-of Outrages upon our miſerable people, that no Chriſtan Ear can hear without horrour, nor ſtory parallel. And as we look upon this as the greateſt affliction it hath pleaſed God to lay upon us, ſo our unhappineſs is encreaſed, in that by the diſtempers at home, ſo early remedies have not been applied to thoſe growing evils, as the expectation and neceſſity there requires; though for our part, as we did upon the firſt notice acquaint our Parliament of *Scotland*, (where we then were) with that Rebellion, requiring their aid and aſſiſtance, and gave like ſpeedy intimation and recommendation to our Parliament here; ſo ſince our return hither, we have been forward to all things which have been propoſed to us towards that work, and have lately our Self offered (by a Meſſage to our Houſe of Peers, and communicated to our Houſe of Commons) to take upon us the care to raiſe ſpeedily 10000 *Engliſh* Voluntiers for that ſervice, if the Houſe of Commons ſhall declare that they will pay them; which

which particulars we are (in a manner) neceſſitated to publiſh, ſince we are informed that the malice of ſome perſons hath whiſpered it abroad, That the no ſpeedier advancing of this buſineſs hath proceeded from ſome want of alacrity in us to this great work; whereas we acknowledge it a high crime againſt Almighty God, and inexcuſable to our good Subjects of our three Kingdoms, if we did not to the utmoſt employ all our powers and faculties to the ſpeedieſt and moſt effectual aſſiſtance and protection of that diſtreſſed people.

And we ſhall now conjure all our good Subjects (of what degree ſoever) by all the Bonds of Love, Duty, or Obedience, that are precious to good men, to join with us for the Recovery of the peace of that Kingdom, and the preſervation of the peace of this; to remove all their Doubts and Fears, which may interrupt their affection to us, and all their jealouſies and apprehenſions which may leſſen their charity to each other; and then (if the ſins of this Nation have not prepared an inevitable Judgment for us all) God will yet make us a great and glorious King, over a free and happy people.

NUMB.

NUMB. X.

A Fatal Letter of the Marquis of *Montroſs* to King *Charles* I. ; deliver'd during the Treaty of *Uxbridge*.

An ORIGINAL.

May it pleaſe your Sacred Majeſty,

THE *laſt Diſpatch I ſent your Majeſty, was by my worthy Friend, and your Majeſty's brave Servant,* Sir William Rollock, *from* Kintore *near* Aberdeen, *dated the* 14th *of* September *laſt; wherein I acquainted your Majeſty with the good Succeſs of your Arms in this Kingdom, and of the Battels the Juſtice of your Cauſe has won over your obdur'd Rebel Subjects. Since Sir* William Rollock *went, I have travers'd all the* North *of* Scotland, *up to* Argyle's *Countrey; who durſt not ſtay my coming, or I ſhould have given your Majeſty a good account of him e're now. But at laſt I have met with him yeſterday to his Coſt: Of which your gracious Majeſty be pleas'd to receive the following Particulars:*

After I had laid waſte the whole Countrey of Argyle, *and brought off Proviſions for my Army of what could be found, I receiv'd information, That* Argyle *was got together with a conſiderable Army, made up chiefly of his own Clan* [Family], *and Vaſſals, and Tenants, with others of the Rebels that join'd him; and that he was at* Innerlochy, *where he expected the Earl of* Seaforth, *and the Sept* [the Family] *of the* Fraziers, *to come up to him with all the Forces they could get together. Upon this Intelligence I departed out of* Argyleſhire, *and march'd through* Lorn, Glencow, *and* Aber, *till I came to* Lochneſs; *my deſign being to fall upon* Argyle, *before* Seaforth *and the* Fraziers *could join him. My March was through inacceſſible Mountains, where I could have no Guides but Cowherds, and they ſcarce acquainted with a place but Six Miles from their own habitations. If I had been attack'd but with a hundred men in ſome of theſe Paſſes, I muſt have certainly return'd back, for it would have been impoſſible to force my way, moſt of the Paſſes being ſo ſtreight, that Three Men could not march a-breaſt. I was willing to let the World ſee that* Argyle *was not the Man his Highland Men believ'd him to be; and that it was poſſible to beat him in his own Highlands.*

lands. The difficulteſt March of all was over the Lochaber *Mountains; which we at laſt ſurmounted, and came upon the back of the Enemy when they leaſt expected us, having cut off ſome Scouts we met about four Miles from* Innerlochy. *Our Van came within view of them about five a Clock in the Afternoon, and we made a Halt till our Rear was got up, which could not be done till Eight at Night. The Rebels took the Alarm, and ſtood to their Arms as well as we, all Night, which was Moon-light, and very clear. There were ſome few Skirmiſhes between the Rebels and Us all the Night, and with no loſs on our ſide, but one Man. By break of day I order'd my Men to be ready to fall on upon the firſt Signal; and I underſtand ſince by the Priſoners, the Rebels did the ſame. A little after the Sun was up, both Armies met, and the Rebels fought for ſome time with great Bravery; the Prime of the* Campbells *giving the firſt Onſet, as Men that deſerv'd to fight in a better Cauſe. Our Men having a Nobler Cauſe, did wonders, and came immediately to puſh of Pike, and dint of Sword, after their firſt firing. The Rebels could not ſtand it, but after ſome Reſiſtance at firſt, began to run; whom we purſued for Nine Miles together, making a great*

ſlaughter; which I would have hindred, if poſſible, that I might ſave your Majeſty's miſ-led Subjects; for well I know your Majeſty does not delight in their Blood, but in their returning to their Duty. There were at leaſt Fifteen hundred kill'd in the Battel, and the Purſuit; among whom there are a great many of the moſt conſiderable Gentlemen of the Name of Campbell, *and ſome of them nearly related to the Earl. I have ſav'd and taken Priſoners ſeveral of them, that have acknowledg'd to me their fault, and lay all the blame on their Chief. Some Gentlemen of the Low-lands, that had behav'd themſelves bravely in the Battel, when they ſaw all loſt, fled into the Old Caſtle, and upon their Surrender I have treated them honourably, and taken their Parole never to bear Arms againſt your Majeſty.* [Here are Six or Seven Lines, that for the Honour of ſome Families, are better left out than mention'd.] *We have of your Majeſty's Army about Two hundred wounded, but I hope few of them dangerouſly. I can hear but of four kill'd, and one whom I cannot name to your Majeſty, but with grief of Mind, Sir* Thomas Ogilvy, *a Son of the Earl of* Arly's, *of whom I writ to your Majeſty in my laſt. He is not yet dead, but they ſay he cannot poſſibly live;*

live; and we give him over for dead. Your Majeſty had never a truer Servant, nor there never was a braver, honeſter Gentleman. For the reſt of the Particulars of this Action, I refer my ſelf to the Bearer, Mr. Hay, *whom your Majeſty knows already, and therefore I need not recommend him.*

Now, Sacred Sir, *let me humbly intreat your Majeſty's Pardon, if I preſume to write you my poor Thoughts and Opinion about what I heard by a Letter I receiv'd from my Friends in the* South *laſt Week, as if your Majeſty was entring into a Treaty with your Rebel Parliament in* England. *The Succeſs of your Arms in* Scotland *does not more rejoice my heart, as that News from* England *is like to break it. And whatever come of me, I will ſpeak my mind freely to your Majeſty; for it's not mine, but your Majeſty's Intereſt I ſeek. When I had the Honour of waiting upon your Majeſty laſt, I told you at full length what I fully underſtood of the Deſigns of your Rebel Subjects in both Kingdoms, which I had occaſion to know, as much as any one whatſoever, being at that time, as they thought, entirely in their Intereſt. Your Majeſty may remember how much you ſaid you were convinc'd I was in the right in my opinion*

of them. I am ſure there is nothing fallen out ſince, to make your Majeſty change your Judgment in all thoſe things I laid before your Majeſty at that time. The more your Majeſty grants, the more will be ask'd; and I have too much reaſon to know that they will not reſt ſatisfied with leſs than making your Majeſty a King of Straw. I hope the News I have receiv'd about a Treaty, may be a Miſtake; and the rather, that the Letter wherewith the Queen was pleas'd to honour me, dated the 30th *of* December, *mentions no ſuch thing. Yet I know not what to make of the Intelligence I receiv'd, ſince it comes from Sir* Robert Spotſwood, *who writes it with a great Regret; and it's no wonder, conſidering no man living is a more true Subject to your Majeſty, than he. Forgive me,* Sacred Sovereign, *to tell your Majeſty, That in my poor Opinion it is unworthy of a King, to treat with Rebel Subjects while they have the Sword in their hands. And though God forbid I ſhould ſtint your Majeſty's Mercy, yet I muſt declare the Horror I am in, when I think of a Treaty, while your Majeſty and they are in the Field with Two Armies; unleſs they disband, and ſubmit themſelves entirely to your Majeſty's Goodneſs and Pardon. As to the State of Affairs in this Kingdom, the*

the Bearer will fully inform your Majeſty in every particular. And give me leave with all humility to aſſure your Majeſty, That through God's Bleſſing I am in the faireſt hopes of reducing this Kingdom to your Majeſty's Obedience. And if the Meaſures I have concerted with your other Loyal Subjects, fail me not, which they hardly can, I doubt not but before the End of this Summer I ſhall be able to come to your Majeſty's Aſſiſtance with a brave Army; which back'd with the Juſtice of your Majeſty's Cauſe, will make the Rebels in England *as well as in* Scotland, *feel the juſt Rewards of Rebellion. Only give me leave, after I have reduc'd this Countrey to your Majeſty's Obedience, and conquer'd from* Dan *to* Beerſheba, *to ſay to your Majeſty then, as* David's *General did to his Maſter*, Come thou thy ſelf, leſt this Countrey be call'd by my Name: *For in all my Actions I aim only at your Majeſty's Honour and Intereſt, as becomes one that is to his laſt Breath,*

May it pleaſe your Sacred Majeſty,

Innerlochy in *Lochaber*, Feb. 3. 1645.

Your Majeſty's moſt Humble, moſt Faithful, and moſt Obedient Subject and Servant,

MONTROSS.

NUMB. XI.

The Addreſs of General Monk *and his Officers from* Scotland, *to the Parliament of* England, *againſt Monarchy, upon* Richard Cromwell's *Abdication.*

Right Honourable,

Whitlock's Memoirs, p. 679, 680.

THAT a Nation may be born in a day, is a truth which this days experience witneſſeth unto us againſt all the dictates of humane Reaſon; and that a glorious Cauſe whoſe Intereſt was laid low (even in the duſt) ſhould be in one day reſtored to its life and luſtre, when almoſt all the Aſſerters of it had ſo manifeſtly declined it by a defection of many years, cannot be imputed to leſs than the greateſt and moſt powerful manifeſtation of the Arm of God, that ever this, or former Generations ſaw, or heard of.

In the ſenſe of this (the greateſt of our Temporal Mercies) we now come to addreſs to your Honours, as thoſe whoſe preſence we have ſo long wanted, that had you ſtaid but a little longer, it might have been left to be enquired what

Eng-

England was; we mean, what was become of that People, by whom God for ſo many years filled the World with ſo much admiration and terror. But though this great Work be (as moſt juſtly it ought to be) wonderful in our eyes, yet when we conſider its Author, who calls things that are not, as if they were, bringeth down to the Pit, and raiſeth up again; we ſee that nothing is difficult to Faith, and the Promiſes of God are ſure and ſtable, even then, when in the eye of man no leſs than impoſſible.

We cannot but acknowledge to our exceeding great ſorrow and ſhame, that our ſelves (though we hope moſt of us, through weakneſs and frailty, not out of deſign) have very much contributed to thoſe Provocations, which have cauſed God to depart from our *Iſrael*; and we could heartily wiſh that even amongſt thoſe that help to make up your own number, there had not been an helping hand to this ſad and deplorable work: But we ſee when God's hour is come, and the time of his people's deliverance (even the ſet time is at hand) he cometh skipping over all the Mountains of Sin and Unworthineſs that we daily caſt in the way.

We

We are not willing to detain your Honours too long upon this Subject; and therefore beſeeching the God of all our Mercies, to heal the backſlidings of his people, and not to charge unto their account, in this his day of their deliverance, their miſcarriages, whilſt they were wandering in dark and ſlippery places, after the imaginations of their own hearts: we with all humility and affection in the firſt place congratulate you in this your happy Reſtoration to the Government of theſe Nations, which God was pleaſed once ſo to own in your hands, as to make you both the praiſe and wonder of the Earth, the glory and rejoicing of his People, and the terror of your Adverſaries; and we acknowledge it a ſingular condeſcenſion in you, in this day of ſo great difficulties, to take upon you ſo heavy a burthen. And ſeeing his late Highneſs hath been pleaſed to manifeſt ſo much ſelf-denial and love to his Country, in appearing for the Intereſt thereof againſt his own; we humbly intreat that ſome ſpeedy care may be taken for him and his family, (together with her Highneſs Dowager) that there may be ſuch an honourable Proviſion ſettled upon them, and ſuch other Dignities as are ſuitable to the

Richard Cromwell.

the former great Services of that Family to theſe Nations.

And in the next place we cannot but humbly beſeech you, now you have an opportunity, than which a fitter your hearts did never pray for, to finiſh the work of Reformation that hath been ſo long upon the wheel, and met with ſo great Obſtructions; that you would not heal the wound of the daughter of God's people ſlightly, but make ſo ſure and laſting proviſion for both their Chriſtian and Civil Rights, as that both this and future Generations may have cauſe to riſe up, and call you Bleſſed, and the blackeſt of Deſigns may never be able to caſt dirt in your faces any more. And as helpful to theſe two great Concernments, *Religion* and *Liberty*, we humbly propoſe unto your mature conſideration theſe two Deſires:

Firſt, that you would be pleaſed to countenance Godlineſs, and all the ſincere profeſſors thereof, encourage an able and laborious Miniſtry, and ſuffer no other Yoak to be impoſed upon the Conſciences of God's people, than what may be agreeable to the Word of God; and that you would be a terror to all impious, prophane, and licentious People whatſoever.

Second-

Secondly that you would ſo vindicate and aſſert the Native Rights and Liberties of theſe Nations, in and by the Government of a *Free-State*, that there may not be the voice of an oppreſſed one in our Land, but that all may enjoy the bleſſed fruits of your righteous and peaceable Government. And for the prevention of all poſſibility for ambitious Spirits ever to work their ends againſt you; we humbly deſire you to be very careful, as well what perſons you entruſt with the management of the Armies and Navies of this Commonwealth, as of the meaſure of that Power and Authority you depart with to them, or ſubſtitute in them. Touching the qualifications of the Perſons, we deſire they may be truly godly and conſcientious. Touching the meaſure of their Authority, that it may be adequate to the nature and being of a *Commonwealth*. And whilſt you are thus pleading, and aſſerting the Intereſt of God and his People, you may reſt aſſured with greateſt confidence, that we ſhall appear in your defence, and the vindication of your Authority, againſt the oppoſition of all Arbitrary Powers whatſoever.

And to that bleſſed and All-powerful God

God, who is able to ſpirit you for this great work; you are, and ſhall daily be recommended in the prayers of,

Your moſt loyal and moſt
Obedient Servants,

George Monk.	*P. Criſp.*
Thomas Read.	*He. Brightman.*
Ralph Cobbet.	*Phil. Watſon.*
Tim. Wilks.	*Tho. Dean.*
Robert Read.	*Jerem. Smith.*
John Cloberry.	*Will. Davis.*
Abra. Holmes.	*James Wright.*
Henr. Dorney.	*Joſ. Wallinton.*
Dan. Daviſon.	*Will. Helling.*
Rich. Heath.	*Ethelb. Morgan.*
Mi. Richardſon.	*Rob. Winter.*
J. Hubbelthorn.	*John Paddon.*
Tho. Johnſon.	*Anthony Nowers.*

The

The Form of the Declaration and Engagement taken by General *Monk* and his Officers, againſt Monarchy, and the Family of the *Stuarts*, at his coming up from *Scotland*.

Whitlock's Memoirs, p. 684.

I A. B. do hereby declare, That I do renounce the pretended Title of Charles Stuart, and the whole Line of the late King James, and of every other perſon as a ſingle perſon, pretending to the Government of theſe Nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging: And that I will by the grace and aſſiſtance of Almighty God, be true, faithful and conſtant to this Commonwealth, againſt any King, ſingle perſon, and Houſe of Peers, and every of them; and hereunto I ſubſcribe my Name.

NUMB.

NUMB. XII.

King James *the* IId's *promiſing Speech to the Parliament*, May 30. 1685.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Thank you very heartily for the Bill you have preſented me this Day; and I aſſure you, the Readineſs and Chearfulneſs that hath attended the Diſpatch of it, is as acceptable to me as the Bill it ſelf.

After ſo happy a beginning, you may believe I would not call upon you unneceſſarily for an extraordinary Supply: But when I tell you the Stores of the Navy are extreamly exhauſted; That the Anticipations upon ſeveral Branches of the Revenue are great and burthenſome; and the Debts of the King my Brother, to his Servants and Family, are ſuch as deſerve Compaſſion; That the Rebellion in *Scotland*, without putting more Weight upon it than it really deſerves, muſt oblige me to a conſiderable Expence extraordinary. I am ſure ſuch Conſiderations will move you to give me an Aid to provide for thoſe

things, wherein the Security, the Eaſe, and the Happineſs of my Government are ſo much concern'd. But above all, I muſt recommend to you the Care of the Navy, the Strength and Glory of this Nation; That you will put it into ſuch a Condition, *as will make us conſiderable and reſpected abroad.* I cannot expreſs my Concerns upon this occaſion more ſuitable to my own Thoughts of it, than by aſſuring you I have a true *Engliſh* Heart, as jealous of the Honour of the Nation as you can be: And I pleaſe my ſelf with the hopes, that by God's Bleſſing and your Aſſiſtance, I may carry its Reputation yet higher in the World, than ever it has been in the time of any of my Anceſtors.

And as I will not call upon you for Supplies, but when they are of publick Uſe and Advantage, ſo I promiſe you, That what you give me upon ſuch Occaſions, ſhall be managed with good Husbandry: And I will take care it ſhall be employed to the Uſes for which I ask them.

NUMB. XIII.

Two Remarkable Letters of a Foreign Miniſter to their Ambaſſador in *England*, relating to King *James*'s preceding Speech. *Tranſlated from the Originals.*

Paris, June 29. 1685.

Monſieur,

THE Copy of his B. M.'s Speech to the Parliament, inclos'd in yours of the 9th *Inſtant*, S. V. *affords ſufficient matter of thoughts here. It is of a ſtrain that looks quite contrary to what we expected, or what you your ſelf in yours of the* 11th *of the laſt Month made us believe it would be. The King can ſcarce believe there is any Change in the Affections of that Prince towards him: And yet knows not what to make of that new Manner of expreſſing himſelf on ſo publick an Occaſion. If he and his Parliament come to a cordial Truſt in one another, it may probably change all the Meaſures we have been ſo long concerting, for the Glory of our Monarch, and the Eſtabliſhment of the Catholick Religion. For my own part, I hope the Acceſſion of a Crown*

has not leſſen'd the Zeal that on all occaſions appear'd in him, when but Duke of York. *Nor will the King's inviolable attachment to the Intereſt of the Duke in the moſt difficult Emergents, permit him now, when King, to forget his Obligations and Engagements to him. There is better things to be hop'd for, from one that has run ſo great hazards upon the account of his Religion, and who has ſo often expreſs'd his Reſentments of the good turns the King did him in his Brother's Life-time.*

Yet it's fit you take all poſſible care to ſearch into the Motives and Adviſers of this Speech: And I am commanded to tell you, That this is one of the greateſt pieces of Service you can do his Majeſty in this Juncture. There are not wanting ſome here that would attribute it to a Change in the King of England's *Inclinations; and they pretend to have Hints of it from ſome about his Perſon: What truth is in this Suggeſtion, you are to ſpare nothing to find out. If the Parliament come once to ſettle a Revenue upon him, ſuch as may put him out of our Reverence, your Buſineſs there will be the more difficult to manage; for doubtleſs he muſt have Ambition, and likewiſe a deſire to pleaſe a Nation, who had but an ill opinion of him before: And nothing can be*

more

more taking with them, than a Breach with us. It will be ſtrange indeed, if in the Death of King Charles, France *has chang'd for the worſe. But whatever others fear, I muſt once more confeſs for my ſelf, That I am of the ſame Opinion I was always of, even that we muſt neceſſarily gain by the Change. Your Bills are ſent this Poſt. Nothing can be more earneſtly recommended to you in his Majeſty's Name, than a narrow Enquiry into this Affair, by*

Monſieur,

Your moſt humble Servant.

The other runs thus:

July 8. 1691.

Monſieur,

IT's unlucky that hitherto you have not been able to find out what we are to expect from this Change in England. *In yours of the* 13th *of the laſt Month*, S. V. *you ſeem to call in queſtion that King's Inclinations to the Common Cauſe; and you ſurprize us with your Fears that he may come to forget his Obligations to the King.*

With the same Post we receiv'd better News from a sure Hand; yet you are to watch as narrowly as if your Fears were well grounded. There is a great matter in dependance, with relation to the Edict of Nants, *which must not be declar'd, till that King's Inclinations be fully known. And yet there is nothing in the world the King desires more eagerly to see done than it, if once it might be done safely. Receive inclos'd an Answer to every one of your Queries, which make use of as occasion offers. Only the last is referr'd to your own discretion, it depending entirely upon your own knowledge of the Person: If he can be brought in, it will be a notable piece of Service. Much may be known, by enquiring exactly how the Prince of* Orange *stands in the King's Affections; and how the Ministers are affected towards him. For the* Hollanders *in general, he seem'd on all occasions neither to love nor fear them; nothing has fallen out of late to alter his mind. On* Friday *Monsieur* Leff. *comes off, who is to show you his Dispatches, and you are to act in concert with him.* I am,

NUMB.

NUMB. XIV.

Some Paſſages out of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Pocket-Book, that was ſeiz'd about him in the *Weſt*.

An ORIGINAL.

L. *Came to me at Eleven at Night from* 29. *Told me* 29 *could never be brought to believe I knew any thing of that part of the Plot that concern'd* Rye-Houſe; *but as things went, he muſt behave himſelf as if he did believe it, for ſome reaſons that might be for my Advantage.* L. *deſir'd me to write to* 29, *which I refus'd; but afterwards told me* 29 *expected it: And I promis'd to write to morrow, if he would call for the Letter at* S. L. *ſhow'd a great concern for me, and I believe him ſincere; though* 3 *is of another mind.* Octob. 13.

L. *came as he promis'd, and receiv'd the Letter from* 3 *ſeal'd, refuſing to read it himſelf, though I had left it open with* S. *for that purpoſe.* 14.

L. *came to me at* S. *with a Line or two from* 29 *very kind, aſſuring me he believ'd every word in my Letter to be true; and adviſ'd me to keep hid, till he had an opportunity to expreſs his belief of it ſome other* 20.

way. L. told me that he was to go out of Town next day; and that 29 would send 80 to me in a day or two, whom he assured me I might trust.

25. L. came for me to ——, where 29 was with 80. He receiv'd me pretty well; and said 30 and 50 were the Causes of my Misfortunes, and would ruin me. After some hot words against them, and against S. went away in a good humour.

26. I went to E——, and was in danger of being discover'd by some of Oglethorp's men, that met me accidentally at the back-door of the Garden.

Nov. 2. A Letter from 29 to be to morrow at seven at night at S. and no body to know it but 80.

3. He came not, there being an extraordinary Council. But 80 brought me a Copy of 50's intercepted Letter, which made rather for me than against me. Bid me come to morrow at the same hour, and to say nothing of the Letter, except 29 spoke of it first.

4. I came and found 29 and L. there. He was very kind, and gave me directions how to manage my business, and what words I should say to 39. He appointed 80 to come to me every Night, till my Business was ripe, and promised to send with him directions from time to time.

9. L. came from 29, and told me my Business

neſs ſhould be done to my mind next Week; and that Q. *was my Friend, and had ſpoke to* 39 *and* D. *in my behalf; which he ſaid* 29 *took very kindly, and had expreſs'd ſo to her. At parting he told me there ſhould be nothing requir'd of me but what was both ſafe and honourable. But ſaid there muſt be ſomething done to blind* 39.

L. *came to me with the Copy of a Letter I was to ſign, to pleaſe* 39. *I deſir'd to know in whoſe hands it was to be depoſited; for I would have it in no hands but* 29. *He told me it ſhould be ſo; but if* 39 *ask'd a Copy, it could not well be refus'd. I referr'd my ſelf entirely to* 29*'s pleaſure.* 15.

L. *came to me from* 29, *and order'd me to render my ſelf to morrow. Caution'd me to play my part, to avoid Queſtions as much as poſſible, and to ſeem abſolutely converted to* 39*'s Intereſt. Bad me bear with ſome words that might ſeem harſh.* 24.

I render'd my ſelf. At Night 29 *could not diſſemble his Satisfaction; preſs'd my hand; which I remember not he did before, except when I return'd from the* French *Service.* 29 *acted his part well, and I too.* 39 D. *ſeem'd not ill pleas'd.* 25.

29 *took me aſide, and falling upon the buſineſs of* L. R. *ſaid he inclin'd to have ſav'd him, but was forc'd to it, otherwiſe he muſt* 26.

muſt have broke with 39. *Bid me think no more on't. Coming home,* L. *told me he fear'd* 39 *began to ſmell out* 29's *Carriage. That* ——— *ſaid to* 39 *that morning, that all that was done was but ſham.*

27. *Several told me of the Storm that was brewing.* Rumſey *was with* 39, *and was ſeen to come out crying, That he muſt accuſe a man he lov'd.*

Dec. 19 *A Letter from* 29, *bidding me ſtay till I heard further from him.*

Jan. 5. *I receiv'd a Letter from* L. *mark'd by* 29 *in the Margin, to truſt entirely in* 10; *and that in* February *I ſhould certainly have leave to return. That Matters were concerting towards it; and that* 39 *had no ſuſpicion, notwithſtanding of my Reception here.*

Feb. 3. *A Letter from* L. *that my buſineſs was almoſt as well as done; but muſt be ſo ſudden as not to leave room for* 39's *Party to counterplot. That it's probable he would chuſe* Scotland *rather than* Flanders *or this Countrey; which was all one to* 29.

16. *The ſad News of his Death by* L. O cruel Fate! ——

Note, That by 29 and 39, King *Charles* and the Duke of *York* ſeem to be meant. But I know not what to make of the other Numbers and Letters; and muſt leave the Reader to his own Conjectures.

NUMB.

NUMB. XV.

A Letter of the late Duke of *Monmouth's*, writ in his Retirement in *Holland*, a little before his Attempt in the *Weſt*.

An ORIGINAL.

I Receiv'd both yours together this morning, and cannot delay you my Anſwer longer than this Poſt; though I am afraid it will not pleaſe you ſo much as I heartily wiſh it may. I have weigh'd all your Reaſons, and every thing that you and my other Friends have writ me upon that Subject; and have done it with the greateſt Inclinations to follow your Advice, and without prejudice. You may well believe I have had time enough to reflect ſufficiently upon our preſent ſtate, eſpecially ſince I came hither. But whatever way I turn my thoughts, I find inſuperable difficulties. Pray do not think it an effect of Melancholy, for that was never my greateſt fault, when I tell you, That in theſe Three Weeks Retirement in this Place, I have not only look'd back but forward; and the more I conſider our preſent Circumſtances, I think them ſtill the more deſperate, unleſs ſome unforeſeen Accident fall out, which I cannot divine nor hope for. [Here follows ſixteen lines all in Cypher.]

Judge

Judge then what we are to expect, in case we should venture upon any such Attempt at this time. It's to me a vain Argument, that our Enemies are scarce yet well setled, when you consider, That Fear in some, and Ambition in others, have brought them to comply; and that the Parliament being made up for the most part of Members that formerly run our Enemy down; they will be ready to make their Peace as soon as they can, rather than hazard themselves upon an uncertain Bottom. I give you but hints of what, if I had time, I would write you at more length: But that I may not seem obstinate in my own Judgment, or neglect the Advice of my Friends, I will meet you at the Time and Place appointed. But for God's sake, think in the mean time of the Improbabilities that lye naturally in our way; and let us not by struggling with our Chains make them streighter and heavier. For my part I'll run the hazard of being thought any thing, rather than a Rash, Inconsiderate Man. And to tell you my thoughts without disguise, I am now so much in love with a Retir'd Life, that I'm never like to be fond of making a Bustle in the World again. *I have much more to say, but the Post cannot stay; and I refer the rest till meeting; being entirely*

Yours.

NUMB.

NUMB. XVI.

King James *the* IId's *Remarkable Speech to the Parliament, after the Duke of* Monmouth's *Defeat.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

AFter the Storm that ſeem'd to be coming upon us when we parted laſt, I am glad to meet you all again in ſo great Peace and Quietneſs; God Almighty be praiſed, by whoſe Bleſſing that Rebellion was ſuppreſt. But when I reflect what an Inconſiderable Number of Men began it, and how long they carried it on without any oppoſition, I hope every body will be convinc'd, That the Militia, which hath hitherto been ſo much depended on, is not ſufficient for ſuch occaſions; and that there is nothing but a good Force of well-diſciplin'd Troops, in conſtant Pay, that can defend us from ſuch as either at home or abroad are diſpos'd to diſturb us. And in truth, my Concern for the Peace and Quiet of my Subjects, as well as for the Safety of the Government, made me think it neceſſary to increaſe the Number to the Proportion

portion I have done. This I ow'd as well to the Honour as to the Security of the Nation; whoſe Reputation was ſo infinitely expos'd to all our Neighbours, by having lain open to this late wretched Attempt, that it is not to be repaired without keeping ſuch a Body of Men on foot, that none may ever have the thought again, of finding us ſo miſerably unprovided. It is for the Support of this great Charge, which is now more than double to what it was, that I ask your Aſſiſtance in giving me a Supply anſwerable to the Expence it brings along with it. And I cannot doubt but what I have begun, ſo much for the Honour and Defence of the Government, will be continued by you with all the Chearfulneſs and Readineſs that is requiſite for a Work of ſo great Importance.

Let no man take exception that there are ſome Officers in the Army, not qualified, according to the late Teſts, for their Employments: The Gentlemen, I muſt tell you, are moſt of them well known to me; and having formerly ſerv'd with me in ſeveral Occaſions, and always approv'd the Loyalty of their Principles by their Practice, I think them fit now to be employ'd under me: And will deal plainly

plainly with you, That after having had the benefit of their Services in ſuch time of need and danger, I will neither expoſe them to Diſgrace, nor my ſelf to the want of them, if there ſhould be another Rebellion to make them neceſſary to me.

I am afraid ſome men may be ſo wicked to hope and expect that a difference may happen between you and me upon this Occaſion: But when you conſider what Advantages have ariſen to us in a few Months, by the good underſtanding we have hitherto had; what wonderful Effects it hath already produced in the Change of the whole Scene of Affairs abroad, ſo much more to the Honour of the Nation, and the Figure it ought to make in the World; and that nothing can hinder a further Progreſs in this way, to all our ſatisfactions, but Fears and Jealouſies amongſt our ſelves. I will not apprehend that ſuch a Misfortune can befal us, as a Diviſion, or but a Coldneſs between me and you; nor that any thing can ſhake you in your Steadineſs and Loyalty to me; who by God's Bleſſing will ever make you all Returns of Kindneſs and Protection; with a Reſolution to venture even my own Life in the Defence of the true Intereſt of this Kingdom.

NUMB.

NUMB. XVII.

Some Paſſages of a Letter from a Foreign Miniſter to their Ambaſſador in *England*, upon the occaſion of the King's Speech immediately preceding; dated *November* 29. 1685.

Done from the ORIGINAL.

WE are now out of pain about the King's Intentions. This laſt Speech to the Parliament has ſufficiently clear'd all our Doubts, together with what —— has writ upon that Subject. It's no more than what I really expected; for I had always a better opinion of him, than to think he could bear tamely the Fetters which Hereticks would endeavour to impoſe upon him. For the time to come, I hope he will act en Maiſtre. *Your Conduct there pleaſes extreamly; and above all, your laſt Diſpatch about what paſs'd at your Audience. All you have promis'd, ſhall be made good to a Tittle; and it's hop'd that others will be as zealous to keep their Promiſes to us. The Inclos'd you muſt deliver, but not till you ſee the Perſon has deſerv'd it; for I am more and more perſuaded, as well as you, that we cannot be too much upon the Reſerve with him,* &c.

NUMB.

NUMB. XVIII.

The Harangue of the Rector of the *Jeſuits College* at *Rome*, to the Earl of *Caſtlemain*, upon his Embaſſy to the Pope.

IN tanto ſtrepitu Mundi plaudentis gratulantiſque Tuo in Urbem adventui, hoc eſt, immortalibus JACOBI II. *Magnæ Britanniæ Regis in Catholicam Eccleſiam meritis, Gregorianum hoc Palladis Athenæum, nec debuit tacere, nec potuit Quamobrem, ego Literariæ hujus Univerſitatis nomine, primò gratulor* INNOCENT XI. *felicitati, quòd Ipſo regnante, Pontificio acceſſerit Diademati Auguſta hæc & Triumphalis Corona; unde illud cum Apoſtolo uſurpare jure Meritò valeat,* Gaudium meum, & Corona mea. *Hunc lætiſſimum ferre Mortalibus Diem, longiſſimi ævi ſpatio diſtulerunt Superi, tùm ut diuturnis Terrarum votis ingentia hæc Cæli dona reſponderent, tùm ut ſimul invenirent regnantem in Anglia Jacobum* II. *Romæ, Innocentium* XI. *Gratulor quoque Chriſtiano Orbi, necnon Catholicis Regibus, quod tanto Dominatore Britannorum Scep-*

Nouveau Voyage d' Italie, p. 259, 260.

tra gerente, tam grande advenerit, & Ipsorum Coronis adversus Christiani nominis hostes munimentum, & Orthodoxæ Fidei ornamentum. Imminent quippe ab invictissimi Regis Classibus, tum Lybicis prædonibus, tum Asiæ & Palestinæ Littoribus, flammarum procellæ, magis metuendæ quàm Maris. At Tibi, Oceani Regina Magna Britannia, quæ à nostro olim Orbe divisa, nunc gemini facis commercia Mundi; quid non liceat ominari faustitatis sub tanto Principe. Erige spes; erige vota; nec timeas si maxima, sed nisi maxima. Non libet in die hac faustissima commemorare quàm lugubres passa fueris unius amplius sæculi spatio, toto Orbe Terrarum admirante atque ingemiscente, catastrophas. Sed si hæc una erat via, quâ Jacobus II. Britanniæ solium ascenderet, propè est ut exclamem, tanti fuisse. Profectò invidebit Tibi Posteritas, non modò præsentium temporum felicitatem, sed & præteritorum Calamitates tam grandi mercede redemptas: eaque, quibus nunc frueris bona, etsi post ingens à Te pretium persolutum Tibi reddita fuerint non à Te coempta arbitrabitur, sed quadam Superum prodigentiâ dona data. Tibi demum gratulor, præstantissime Orator, quod tam faustum diem, & videris in Anglia, & detuleris in Urbem. Nam de Sapientia Tuâ, quâ per eruditissimos

mos libros Hæresim profligasti, nihil attinet dicere: nihil de Fortitudine, quâ Carceres ipsos pro Catholica Religione tuenda, non tam pertulisti, quàm decorasti: nil de Prudentia; Nobilitate, cæterisque dotibus Tuis. Hoc unum universa Tua decora comprehendit, quod ad maximum totius Regni negotium, hoc est, ut splendidissimâ fungereris apud Innocentium P. M. legatione, Jacobus II. *Magnæ Britanniæ Rex maximus, Te unum elegit, quia unus dignus erat eligi, alter eligere.*

The Speech of the Rector of the *College of Jesuits*, to his Excellency *Roger* Earl of *Castlemain*.

SIR,

YOU must not think this College *alone can be mute; and if they could, their Silence must be a Crime, at a Time when this* City *is filled with Universal Joy, upon the News of your* Excellency's *Arrival; and all Places resound the Praises of* James the Second, *and the Obligations the Catholick Church has to that Illustrious Prince. I, in the Name of this Learned* Body, *do in the first place congratulate thee,* Innocent, *in whose Reign this flourishing* Impe-

rial Crown *is added to the* Papal Diadem. *It is now your Holineſs can properly uſe that Apoſtolick Expreſſion*, My Joy and my Crown. *Heaven has deferr'd this happy Day thus long, That ſo great a Bleſſing might not be obtained, without long and unwearied Prayers; and at laſt effected, when Two ſuch Princes as* James *and* Innocent *ſhould concur to reign, the one in* England, *and the other in* Rome. *What a Support have all Catholick Kings gained by this Acceſſion? What an Honour has the Orthodox Faith receiv'd, and what a Defence againſt the Enemies of the Name of* Chriſt? *The Thunder of his Invincible Fleet will ſtrike greater Terror into the Pyrates of* Barbary *and the* Levant, *than Storms and Waves can do. How highly bleſt art Thou, O* Britain! *Empreſs of the Ocean; once ſecluded from the Earth, now Miſtreſs of the Commerce of the* Eaſtern *and* Weſtern *World? What Proſperity may'ſt thou not hope for, under the Reign of ſo Excellent a Prince! Raiſe thy Hopes; Raiſe thy Courage; and baniſh all unjuſt and unſeaſonable Fears. I have no Inclination at this time to recount thoſe Diſaſters and Calamities which* England *has been the Theatre for above an Age paſt, to the Grief and Aſtoniſhment of the reſt of the World. But if Providence has made*

made these the Steps for James the Second *to mount the Throne, I can hardly refrain declaring how cheaply thou hast purchased so great a Blessing. It is certain, their present Happiness will create Envy in succeeding Times; and however dear it has cost them, Posterity will esteem it more the Bounty and Profusion of Heaven, than a Recompence of their Sufferings. In the last place, I must congratulate your Excellency, who has first seen this happy Day at home, and has next been the Messenger to bring it hither. I shall not here presume to praise your Great Wisdom, your Learned Writings against Heresy; that steady Courage you have shewn in those many Prisons you have honour'd for your Zeal to the True Religion; your prudent Conduct, or your other extraordinary Qualities: All these are summ'd up in one; and your Character is in fine compleated, by the Choice your Great Master has made of you, to sustain the most considerable Affair of his Kingdom, The present Glorious Embassy: In which all the World must own Him to be the most competent Judge, and You the fittest Person.*

NUMB. XIX.

The Anſwer of the Vice Preſident and Fellows of Magdalen-College, Oxon, *before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners; Why they could not in Conſcience comply with the King's Mandate.*

THE ſaid Vice-Preſident, and other deputed Fellows anſwered and ſaid, That the ſaid Colledge of St. *Mary Magdalen* in *Oxon* is a Body Corporate, governed by Local Statutes, granted and confirmed to them by His Majeſty's Royal Predeceſſor, King *Henry* the 6th, for Him and His Heirs and Succeſſors, under the Great Seal of *England*; which are alſo ſince confirmed by ſeveral other Letters Patents of others of his Majeſty's Royal Predeceſſors, under the Great Seal of *England*. That by the ſaid Statutes of the College (to the obſervation of which, each Fellow is ſworn) it is ordered, That the Perſon elected Preſident thereof, ſhall be a Man of good Life and Reputation, approved Underſtanding, and good Temper, Diſcreet, Provident, and Circumſpect, both in Spiritual and

and Temporal Affairs. And at the time of Election of a Preſident, the ſaid Fellows are bound by the ſaid Statutes, to take an Oath that they ſhall nominate none to that office, but ſuch as are, or have been Fellows of the ſaid Colledge, or of *New-Colledge* in *Oxon*; or if they are not actually Fellows at that time of Election, that they be ſuch as have left their Fellowſhips in their reſpective Colledges upon credible accounts. And when two qualified perſons ſhall be nominated at the time of Election, by the greater number of all the Fellows, to the ſaid Office of Preſident; the thirteen Seniors alſo ſwear that they will Elect one of them, whom in their Conſciences they think moſt proper and ſufficient, moſt diſcreet, moſt uſeful, and beſt qualified for the Place; without any regard to love, hatred, favour, or fear. And every Fellow when he is firſt admitted into his Fellowſhip in the ſaid Colledge, ſwears that he will inviolably keep and obſerve all the Statutes and Ordinances of the Colledge, and every thing therein contained, ſo far as does or may concern him, according to the plain, literal, and grammatical ſenſe and meaning thereof, and as much as in him lies will cauſe the

ſame to be kept and obſerved by others; and that he will not procure any Diſpenſation contrary to his aforeſaid Oath, or any part thereof, nor contrary to the Statutes and Ordinances to which it relates, or any of them; nor will he endeavour that ſuch Diſpenſations ſhall be procured by any other, or others, publickly or privately, directly or indirectly. And if it ſhall happen that any Diſpenſation of this ſort, of whatſoever Authority it ſhall be, whether in general or particular, or under what form of Words ſoever it be granted, that he will neither make uſe of it, nor in any ſort conſent thereunto. That upon Notice of the Death of Dr. *Clark*, Late Preſident of the ſaid Colledge, the Vice-Preſident called a Meeting of the ſaid Fellows, in order to the appointing a day for the Election of a new Preſident, and the 13th of *April* was the time prefix'd, with power to prorogue the ſame as they ſhould ſee cauſe, till the 15th, beyond which time they could not ſtatutably defer their Election; and in purſuance thereof a Citation, or Premonition, was fix'd upon the Chappel-door of the ſaid Colledge, ſignifying the ſame, and by which the abſent Fellows were Summoned to repair home, as the Sta-

Statute in the Caſe requires. And the ſaid Vice-Preſident, and other deputed Fellows farther ſay, That on the 11th of *April* aforeſaid, they received his Majeſty's Letters Mandatory, to elect and Admit the ſaid Mr. *Anthony Farmer* Preſident of the ſaid Colledge: But foraſmuch as the ſaid Vice-Preſident, and Fellows, apprehended the right of Election to be in them, and believed His Majeſty never intended to diſpoſſeſs them of their Rights: And foraſmuch as the ſaid Mr. *Farmer* had never been Fellow either of *Magdalen*, or *New*-Colledge in *Oxon*, and had not thoſe Qualifications which in and by the ſaid Statutes of the Colledge are required in the Character of a Preſident, as they in their Conſciences did, or do verily believe; and in regard that they could not comply with his Majeſty's Letter, without the violation of their Oaths, and hazard of their legal Intereſt and Property, wherewith they are by the Statutes poſſeſſed, and which by their Oaths they are bound to maintain, they repreſented the ſame by their humble Petition to His Majeſty. And having deferred their Election of a Preſident to the laſt day limited by their Statutes, then they proceeded to

to Election, and having first received the Eucharist, and taken the said Oaths, as the Statutes enjoyn, to chuse a Person so qualified as is before expressed, they did Elect the Reverend Mr. *John Hough*, B. D. and one of the Fellows of their Colledge, a Person every way qualified to be President; who has been since confirmed by the Bishop of *Winton* their Visitor, as the Statutes of the said Colledge direct.

And that they might not lye under His Majesty's Displeasure by their Proceedings, they did on the 19th of *April* make an humble representation thereof to His Majesty, by his Grace the Duke of *Ormond*, Chancellor of the University of *Oxon*, setting forth their indispensable Obligations to observe their Founder's Statutes.

All which Matters the Vice-President, and other deputed Fellows, do humbly offer to your Lordships, and pray to be dismissed with your Lordships favour.

NUMB.

NUMB. XX.

The Petition of the ſaid Vice-Preſident and Fellows, offer'd to King James.

Humbly ſheweth,

THat upon the 27th of *Auguſt* we received Your Majeſty's Letters Mandatory, Dated *Auguſt* 14th, requiring us to admit the Right Reverend Father in God *Samuel* Lord Biſhop of *Oxon*, to be our Preſident; and diſpenſing with all Statutes and Conſtitutions to the contrary. It is an unexpreſſible Affliction to us, to find our ſelves reduced to ſuch an extremity that either we muſt diſobey Your Majeſty's Royal Command, contrary to our own Inclinations, and that conſtant courſe of Loyalty which we have ſhew'd in all inſtances hitherto upon all occaſions whatſoever; or elſe break our Founder's Statutes, and deliberately perjure our ſelves.

For our Founder hath obliged us under Oath, when we came in Fellows, inviolably to obſerve his Statutes; and one Clauſe therein injoyns us never to admit, or make uſe of Diſpenſation granted

granted by any Authority whatſoever, whereby we may be abſolved from the ſame. In this Statute for the Election of a Preſident, he commands us upon Oath to Elect ſuch a Perſon into the place of Preſident within 15 days after the vacancy, who either is, or has been Fellow of our own, or *New*-Colledge: Which we repreſented to Your Majeſty in our humble Petition, ſign'd *April* 9th, wherein we offered our ſelves ready to Elect any Perſon capable of the ſame, who your Majeſty ſhould be pleaſed to recommend; and having waited the utmoſt time limited by our Statutes, and receiv'd no Anſwer to that effect, we did then according to the exigence of our Statutes (having firſt taking the holy Euchariſt, and our ſeveral Oaths to that purpoſe) nominate and Elect ſuch a Perſon, as we in our Conſciences did believe to be every way qualified for that Place: By which Act of ours, we have conveyed all that right to him, which our Founder hath intruſted us with; and it does not lie in our power to admit any other. Our Founder in another Statute obligeth us under the pain of Perjury, a dreadful Anathema, and eternal Damnation, not to ſuffer any of his Statutes to be altered, infringed,

or

or diſpenſed with, and commands us under the ſame Sacred Obligations, not to execute any Orders or Decree whatſoever, contrary or repugnant to the ſaid Statutes; by which ſaid Statutes and Oaths, we are utterly incapacitated to admit the ſaid Reverend Father in God to be our Preſident.

May it pleaſe Your Sacred Majeſty, to give us leave to lay this our Caſe, and our ſelves, with all ſubmiſſion, at Your Royal Feet, moſt earneſtly beſeeching Your Sacred Majeſty, to extend to us Your humble Petitioners, the Grace and Tenderneſs which Your Majeſty hath vouchſafed to all Your other Subjects; and not to believe us guilty of any obſtinacy or undutifulneſs, Crimes which our Souls abhor; but to receive us into Your Majeſty's Grace and Favour, the greateſt temporal Bleſſing which our Hearts can wiſh.

And Your humble Petitioners ſhall always (as in Duty bound) pray to Almighty God, to bleſs your Majeſty with a long and happy Reign over us, and afterwards to receive You to an immortal Crown of Glory.

NUMB-

NUMB. XXI.

A Copy of a Letter of the *Iriſh* Clergy to King *James*, in favour of the Earl of *Tyrconnel*; found among Biſhop *Tyrrel*'s Papers in *Dublin*.

SIR,

The State of *Ireland* under K. *James*, by Dr. *King*, p. 294, 295.

SInce it has pleaſed the Almighty Providence, by placing your Majeſty in the Throne of your Anceſtors, to give you both Authority and Occaſion of exerciſing thoſe Royal Virtues which alone do merit, and would acquire you the Crown to which you were born; We, though comprehended in the general Clemency and Indulgence which you extend to the reſt of our Fellow Subjects, are nevertheleſs ſo remote from your Majeſty's Preſence, that our Prayers can have no acceſs to you, but by a Mediator. And ſince of all others the Earl of Tyrconnel *did firſt eſpouſe, and chiefly maintain, theſe Twenty five Years laſt paſt, the Cauſe of your poor oppreſſed* Roman-Catholick *Clergy, againſt our many and powerful Adverſaries; and is now the only Subject of your Majeſty, under whoſe Fortitude and Popularity in this Kingdom, we dare chearfully*

fully and with assurance own our Loyalty, and assert your Majesty's Interest; Do make it our humble Suit to your Majesty, That you will be pleased to lodge your Authority over us in his Hands, to the Terror of the Factious, and Encouragement of your faithful Subjects here; since his Dependance on your Majesty is so great, that we doubt not but that they will receive him with such Acclamations as the long-captiv'd Israelites *did their Redeemer* Mordecai. *And since your Majesty in Glory and Power does equal the mighty* Ahashuerus; *and the Virtue and Beauty of your Queen is as true a Parallel to his ador'd* Hester; *we humbly beseech she may be heard as our great Patroness, against that* Haman, *whose Pride and Ambition of being honoured as his Master, may have hitherto kept us in Slavery. And though we wish none the fate of so dreadful an Example, but rather a timely Penitence and Conversion; we yet humbly crave your Majesty's Protection against all such, if it may consist with your Royal Wisdom and Pleasure, to which we with all humility submit, in the establishing of the said Earl of* Tyrconnel *in such Authority here, as may secure us in the Exercise of our Function to the Honour of God, and offering up our Prayers and Sacri-*

fice

fice for the continuation of your Majeſty's long and proſperous Reign over us.

Dublin, the of July, 1685.

Your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Obedient Subjects.

NUMB.

NUMB. XXII.

Colonel *Luttrel*'s Order, forbidding above Five Proteſtants meeting any where, *&c.* State of *Ireland*, &c. p. 430, 431.

By the Governor of *Dublin*, June 18. 1690.

WHereas ſeveral *Diſaffected Perſons of the Proteſtant Religion, are of late come to this City of* Dublin, *and ſome of them Arm'd with Swords, Piſtols, and other Weapons, contrary to his Majeſties expreſs Commands by his Royal Proclamation, bearing Date the* 20th *day of July*, 1689.

I. *Theſe are therefore to Will and Require all Men whatſoever, of the Proteſtant Religion, now reſiding or being within the ſaid City of* Dublin, *or within the Liberties of St.* Sepulchre Donnor, *or* Thomas Court, *who are not Houſe-keepers, or have not followed ſome lawful Vocation therein theſe Three Months paſt, to depart within Twenty four Hours after the Publication hereof, out of the ſaid City and Liberties, and repair to their reſpective Habitations, or uſual places of Abode in the Country, up-*

on pain of Death, or Imprisonment, and to be farther proceeded against as Contemners of his Majesties Royal Commands, and as Persons designing the Disturbance of the Publick Peace.

II. *And likewise, That all Protestants within the said City and Liberties, not being of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, nor in his Army, or actual Service, shall within the time aforesaid deliver up all their Arms, both Offensive and Defensive, and all their Ammunition, into his Majesties Stores in the said City, upon pain of Death.*

III. *And that no Protestant whatsoever, do presume at his peril, to walk or go in the Streets, from Ten of the Clock at Night till Five in the Morning, nor at any time when there is an Alarum. In which case all such Persons are required for their Safety, and for the Security of the Publick, to keep within Doors till such an Alarum is over.*

IV. *And Lastly, For the prevention of Riots and unlawful Assemblies, These are therefore to Will and Require all the said Protestants, that no greater number of them than Five shall Meet and Converse at any time, either in any House within the said City or Liberties, over and above the Family*

Family of the Houſe; or in the Streets and Fields in or about the ſame, or elſewhere: Hereby declaring, That all Perſons who ſhall offend againſt any Clauſe in this preſent Order, ſhall ſuffer Death, or ſuch other Puniſhment, as a Court-Martial *ſhall think fit.*

NUMB. XXIII.

The *French* King's Declaration, publish'd at his Camp at *Arnheim*, to oblige the *Hollanders* to surrender their Country to him, *Anno* 1672.

Memoirs pour servir a l'Histoire de la Paix de Ryswick, par Du Mont. Tom. 2. p.66,67.

De par le Roy.

SA Majesté considerant combien il a plû à Dieu de benir ses justes desseins, & faire prosperer les enterprises, qu'il a faites depuis son arrivée à la Campagne: Et voulant traiter avec la derniere douceur les Peuples des Provinces, où elle pourra étendre ses Victoires: & afin de leur faire scavoir ce qu'ils auront à faire pour se rendre dignes de ses bontez, sa Majesté a fait déclarer & déclare par la presente, que tous les Habitans des Villes de Hollande, qui se rendront volontairement à son obéïssance, & recevront les Troupes, qu'elle trouvera bon de leur envoyer pour leur sûreté & pour leur défense, seront non seulement traitez aussi favorablement qu'ils pourroient desirer; mais aussi seront maintenus dans tous leurs Privileges & Franchises, & auront toute liberté de conscience avec le libre exercice de leur Religion. Mais

Mais au contraire que ceux qui ne ſe voudront pas ſoûmettre, de quelque qualité ou condition qu'ils ſoient, tâcheront de reſiſter aux forces de ſa Majeſté par l'inondation de leurs Digues, ou autrement, ſeront punis de la derniere rigueur. Et cependant on exercera toutes ſortes d'hoſtilitez contre tous ceux, qui voudront s'oppoſer aux deſſeins de ſa Majeſté, & lors que les glaces ouvriront le paſſage de tous côtez, ſa Majeſté ne donnera aucun Quartier aux Habitans des Villes, mais donnera ordre que leurs biens ſoient pillez, & leurs maiſons brûlées. Fait à l'Armée devant Aernhem ce 24 Juin 1672.

Signé,

LOUIS.

Et plus bas,

Le Tellier.

The Declaration.

HIS Majeſty conſidering how it has pleas'd God to bleſs his juſt Deſigns, and proſper his Undertakings, ſince his Arrival in the Army; and it being his Intention to treat the People over whom he ſhall extend his Victories, with the higheſt Clemency; to the intent therefore that they may deſerve his great Goodneſs, his Majeſty has cauſed to be declared, and does by theſe preſents declare, That all the Inhabitants of the Cities of Holland, *who ſhall voluntarily ſubmit to him, and receive the Troops he ſhall ſend for their Security and Defence, ſhall be treated as favourably as they can deſire; and ſhall be maintained in all their Privileges and Immunities, and have Liberty of Conſcience, and the Free Exerciſe of their Religion.*

On the contrary, All of whatever Quality and Condition, who ſhall refuſe to comply with theſe Offers, and ſhall reſiſt his Majeſty's Forces, either by the Inundation of their Digues, or otherwiſe, ſhall be puniſhed with the utmoſt Rigor. At preſent, all Hoſtilities ſhall be uſed againſt thoſe who oppoſe

oppoſe his Majeſty's Deſigns; and when the Ice ſhall open a Paſſage on all ſides, his Majeſty will not give any Quarter to the Inhabitants of ſuch Cities, but give Order that their Goods be plunder'd, and their Houſes burnt. Given at the Camp before *Arnheim*, this 24*th* of *June*, 1672.

Sign'd,

LOUIS.

And underneath,

La Tellier.

FINIS.

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